HISTORY

OF THE

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

FROM 1792 TO 1842.

BY THE

REV. F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A SKETCH OF THE GENERAL BAPTIST MISSION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

SECOND THOUSAND.

LONDON:

T. WARD & CO., AND G. & J. DYER,

PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCXLII.

LUNTLEY AND DICK,
PRINTERS,
NEW BROAD STREET COURT, LONDON.

CONTENTS.

PART III.

THE JAMAICA MISSION, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE PERIOD OF FREEDOM.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.—DISCOVERY, GENERAL ASPECT, POLITICAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF JAMAICA 1

CHAPTER II.—NOTICES OF THE FIRST BAPTISTS IN JAMAICA, AND OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MISSION 12

CHAPTER III.—EVENTS OF 1831 AND 1832 78

CHAPTER IV.—FROM THE INSURRECTION, UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM 191

CHAPTER V.—1834 TO 1838

CHAPTER VI.—THE BAHAMAS, BELIZE, AND SOUTH AFRICA 261

PART IV.

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE RESTORATION OF UNION IN THE SOCIETY, AND OF NEGRO FREEDOM, TO THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE MISSION.

CHAPTER I.—THE EAST INDIES. 273

CHAPTER II.—THE WEST INDIES 327

CHAPTER III.—AFRICA 360

CHAPTER IV.—ENGLAND 380

APPENDIX 391

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE GENERAL BAPTIST MISSION.

HISTORY,

&c.

PART III.

THE JAMAICA MISSION, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE PERIOD OF FREEDOM.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY, GENERAL ASPECT, POLITICAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF JAMAICA.

No part of the world has of late years awakened a deeper interest in the minds of men than Jamaica. That island has been the theatre of transactions which, in some respects, are unparalleled in the history of mankind; connected, as they have been, not much with the political revolutions of empires, as with the more felicitous and more splendid achievements of christianity. There oppression has been overthrown; inhumanity counteracted; and man elevated, from his lowest condition, to the rights of freedom, and the liberty of the gospel. The struggle has been arduous, but the result glorious; affording lessons of inestimable worth both to present and future generations.

Jamaica is one hundred and seventy miles in length, and about sixty in breadth, containing

4,000,000 acres; and is situated between the parallels of 17° 35′ to 18° 30′ N. lat., and 76° to 78° 40′ W. long., four thousand miles south-west of England, ninety miles west of St. Domingo or Hayti, a similar distance south of Cuba, and four hundred and thirty-five miles north of Carthagena, on the South American continent. It was discovered by Columbus, in his second voyage, on the third of May, 1494, who retained its original name, written by the Spanish historians *Xaymaca*, signifying in the native language, *a country abounding in springs.* After some resistance from a large party of Indians, some of whom were killed by the Spaniards, a landing was effected, and Columbus took a formal possession of the island for his sovereign. In ten days, he left for Cuba; but returning shortly after, he surveyed the coast. From this time, nothing further was heard of Jamaica for eight or nine years, and the peaceful Indians were left in the tranquil occupation of their home.

Subsequently, on the 24th of June, 1503, Columbus, on his return to Hispaniola from an expedition to Veragua, was compelled, by stress of weather, to bear away to a small harbour on the northern coast, which is still called Don Christopher's cove. Obliged again to put to sea, he was driven down the coast to the westward; and at St. Ann's Bay the sinking vessels were run on shore for the purpose of preserving the lives of the almost exhausted adventurers; and friendly communications were opened with the unsuspecting Indians, who supplied the shipwrecked seamen with abundance of provisions, in exchange for beads, bells, or other trifles. His people, however, at length

revolted; the Indians deserted; the governor of Hispaniola aggravated his misfortunes by unkindness and mockery; and after twelve months of severe trial and mortification, he sunk under them soon after his return to Spain in 1504, but not till he had raised an imperishable name. In 1509, the Spanish court conferred the whole continent, as far as it had been discovered by Columbus, on Alfonzo de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuessa; authorising them, jointly and severally, to make what use they pleased of the unoccupied land of Jamaica, as a garden whence provisions might be obtained, and as a nursery whence *slaves* might be procured to work in the mines. The result of such orders in such times may be easily imagined: a contest arose between the principal governors who should make the most of the unfortunate islanders and their country; towns and villages were laid waste and burned; the slightest resistance was revenged with indiscriminate slaughter; the chiefs were murdered in cold blood; the women became victims to their sensuality; tortures of the most infernal nature were resorted to for the purpose of forcing a discovery of gold, for which the Spaniards eagerly thirsted; and the adults and children of Jamaica who were not fortunate enough to escape to the recesses of the mountains, there to perish, or suffer from lingering famine, were borne away into captivity, to wear out a brief existence in the rayless mine, where their merciless oppressor sought wealth at an incalculable sacrifice of human life and happiness. Diego Columbus, however, the son and heir of the discoverer, strenuously resisted these appointments, and sent Juan de Esquivel, with

a small force, to secure his own claim on Jamaica. It is said of him by Herrera, that he brought the natives to submission without bloodshed; upon which Mr. Edwards remarks, "This praise is the more valuable because it is almost peculiar to Esquivel, who alone seems to have been sensible of the abominable wickedness of visiting distant lands only to desolate them, and of converting the Indians to christianity by cutting their throats."* Esquivel continued in his office but a few years, and died at Sevilla Nueva, a town which he had founded on the site of an ancient Indian village named by Columbus Santa Gloria, now St. Ann's Harbour. His successors were of a far different character from him, and soon began to spread the same carnage that was desolating Hispaniola. In 1558, it is stated that the native inhabitants of Jamaica had entirely perished. Gage, writing in 1637, says, "This island was once very populous, but is now almost destitute of Indians, for the Spaniards have slain in it more than 60,000, insomuch that women, as well here as on the continent, did kill their children before they had given them birth, that the issues of their bodies might not serve so cruel a nation."

On the 3rd of May, 1655, the island was taken by the English under Admiral Penn and General Venables. The population at this time was stated by Venables to be only 1500 Spaniards and Portuguese, with about an equal number of mulattoes and negro slaves. In 1670, the total white population amounted to 15,198.

On the 7th of June, 1692, the town of Port Royal,

* Edwards's Hist. of the West Indies, vol. i., p. 129.

into which the wealth of the buccaneers had been poured, and on whose shores their crimes and wickedness had been felt, was suddenly destroyed by an awful visitation of providence. Three thousand of its inhabitants were instantly engulphed in the earthquake which entombed the scene of so much depravity for ever. In some places, the earth opened wide, and swallowed up whole houses, which were again, perhaps, thrown upwards by the violent concussion of the sea; in others, many individuals were swallowed up to the neck, and the earth then closing strangled them.

Jamaica approaches in shape an oval figure. An elevated ridge, called the Blue Mountains, towering in some places to nearly 8000 feet above the level of the sea, runs longitudinally through the isle, east and west, and is occasionally intersected by other high ridges, declining on the north into round-topped hills and mounds covered with groves of pimento, and all the exquisite verdure of the tropics: the coup d'œil presenting a splendid panorama of high mountains embosomed in clouds, and vast savannahs or plains, hills and vales, rivers, bays, and creeks. The following is part of Mr. Edwards's glowing description. "The general appearance of the country differs greatly from most parts of Europe; yet the north and south sides of the island, which are separated by a vast chain of mountains extending from east to west, differ at the same time widely from each other. When Columbus first discovered Jamaica, he approached it on the northern side; and beholding that part of the country which now constitutes the parish of St. Ann, he was filled with delight and admiration at the

novelty, variety, and beauty of the prospect. The whole of the scenery is indeed superlatively fine, nor can words alone convey a just idea of it.

"The country, at a small distance from the shore, rises into hills which are more remarkable for beauty than boldness, being all of gentle aclivity, and commonly separated from each other by spacious vales and romantic inequalities; but they are seldom craggy, nor is the transition from the hills to the valleys oftentimes abrupt. In general, the hand of nature has rounded every hill towards the top with singular felicity. The most striking circumstances attending these beautiful swells, are the happy disposition of the groves of pimentoes with which most of them are spontaneously clothed, and the consummate verdure of the turf underneath, which is discoverable in a thousand openings, presenting a charming contrast to the deeper tints of the pimento. . . . To enliven the scene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copiously watered the whole district. No part of the West Indies that I have seen, abounds with so many delicious streams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cascade. . . . As the land rises towards the centre of the island, the eye, passing over the beauties that I have recounted, is attracted by a boundless amphitheatre of wood,—

'Insuperable height of loftiest shade;
Cedar, and branching palm:'

an immensity of forest, the outline of which melts into the distant blue hills, and these again are lost in the clouds.

"On the southern side of the island, the scenery is

of a different nature. In the landscape we have treated of, the prevailing characteristics of the scenery are variety and beauty; in that which remains, the predominant features are grandeur and sublimity."*

"The heat of Jamaica is not so excessive as has been sometimes represented. The medium of Kingston throughout the year is 80° F., and the minimum 70°. The temperature of course decreases from the coast: eight miles from Kingston, the maximum is 70°; and at the distance of fourteen miles, where the elevation is 4200 feet, the average range is from 55° to 65° F., the minimum in winter 44°. On the summits of the mountains, the range in summer is from 47° at sunrise, to 58° at noon; the minimum in winter 42°. The heat of a tropical climate is materially mitigated by unremitted breezes from sea or land, and by vast masses of clouds, which, interposing between the sun's rays and the earth, prevent any great inconvenience. The air is remarkably light and enlivening, producing great cheerfulness even in old age, and so equal in its pressure, that it rarely varies much at any time of the year. From July to October is the hurricane season; but severe storms at the Windward Caribee isles are not felt at Jamaica. The quantity of rain falling in the year is nearly fifty inches. For two or three months preceding the May rains, lightning and thunder are prevalent, but not of a very dangerous or destructive character; and from November to March, when the sea breeze is irregular, northerly winds blow, becoming colder as they recede towards

* Hist. of the West Indies, vol. i..

the west. During this season, the air is soft and balmy, resembling the finest vernal weather in England.

The most recent account of the population is in the returns made by the compensation commissioners, dated 7th July, 1835, by which it appears that the number of slaves registered was 311,692. The free population of whites, coloured, and black, cannot be ascertained, unless we take the strength of the different parish militia, which probably may be reckoned as a fifth or sixth of the whole free population.

The island is divided into three counties,—Middlesex, Surrey, and Cornwall; each of which is subdivided into parishes,—nine, seven, and five. Over each of these a magistrate styled a *custos*, presides. The administration of public affairs is by a governor and council, appointed by the king (or queen), and the representatives of the people, in the lower house of assembly. The lieutenant-governor is commander-in-chief; and has a house in Spanish Town, which is regarded as the capital. The council consists of a president and eight members, with a clerk, chaplain, usher of the black rod, and a messenger. The assembly consists of forty-three members, one of whom is speaker; with clerk, chaplain, messenger, deputy, and printer. There is also a high court of chancery, the governor for the time being occupying the office of chancellor; and also a court of vice-admiralty, court of ordinary, supreme court of judicature, with a chief justice, sixteen assistant judges, attorney-general, solicitor for the crown, commissioner, provost-master-general, and other officers.

In the proceedings of the general assembly, they

copy, as nearly as local circumstances will admit, the form of the legislature of Great Britain; and all their bills, except those of a private nature, have the force of laws as soon as the governor's assent is obtained. Still the power of rejection is reserved in the crown; but the laws are valid, till the royal disapprobation is signified. Of the laws thus passed, the principal relate to regulations of local policy, to which the law of England is not applicable.

The moral condition of the white population of Jamaica has always been described, by impartial writers, as truly appalling. But surely it can excite little surprise that a slave colony should exhibit the grossest specimen of open licentiousness and immorality when the tendency which the practices of slavery have not only to degrade to the lowest point of humanity the wretched victims of injustice and cruelty, but the perpetrators of such atrocities themselves, is considered. The absolute power which infidel sensualists have had over the slaves, and the total want of power over their own guilty passions, which natural depravity, amidst unbounded opportunities of sin, and the endless incitement of wicked companionship supply, account for that universal state of demoralisation which overspread this degraded island. The statement made by indubitable witnesses in its condition of slavery was, that "those who were addicted to the most shameless and notorious profligacy had generally as much outward respect shown them, and were as much countenanced, visited, and received into company, especially if they were persons of some rank and influence in the community, as though they were free from any breach of

moral duty."* The author just cited says of the negroes, "they are no doubt deteriorated by the nature of their condition (slavery). They have, however, good qualities mingled with their bad ones. They are patient, cheerful, and commonly submissive, capable at all times of grateful attachments, where uniformly well treated; and generally affectionate towards their friends, kindred, and offspring. The affection and solicitude of a negro mother towards her infant is ardent even to enthusiasm. The crime of infanticide, so repugnant to nature, is seldom or never heard of among the negro tribes; though it is said, that prompted by avarice, the African father will sometimes sell his child to the European slave-trader.

"The passions and affections of the negroes not being under the control of reason or religion, sometimes break out with frightful violence: rage, revenge, grief, and jealousy, have often been productive of terrible catastrophes."

The negroes are extremely superstitious. Obeism, which is a kind of pretended witchcraft, is fraught with much evil, owing to their excessive credulity. A negro who desires to be revenged on another, but is afraid of making a direct attack on his adversary, usually has recourse to obeah. This is considered as an irresistible spell, withering and palsying, by unwonted sensations and resistless terror, the unhappy victim. The obeah man collects together many ominous things,—such as mould from a grave, human blood, a piece of wood fashioned in the shape of a coffin, the feathers of the carrion crow, the tooth of a snake or alligator, pieces

* Stewart's View.

of egg-shell, and other ingredients,—to compose the fatal mixture. It is not, indeed, considered as absolutely necessary to have every article, in order to complete the charm; but two or three at least are indispensable. The effect upon ignorant minds must obviously be very powerful. They give the utmost credit, also, to apparitions, and are full of dread on account of them, conceiving that they forebode death or some other great evil; in short, that the spirits of the dead come upon the earth to be revenged on those who have injured them when alive.

They retain many funeral rites of a superstitious nature; such as dancing round the grave, sacrificing poultry, pouring out libations, and affecting to hold conversation with the spirit of the deceased. Other practices similar in principle might easily be adduced; but these are sufficient to show the general character of the African people, and the necessity that existed for christian efforts to raise them from their mental and moral degradation. Nor were these efforts totally wanting; for previously to any attempt on the part of the Baptist Missionary Society, even as early as 1754, three moravian missionaries went to Jamaica; and although there were many difficulties to encounter, yet they did not labour in vain. At the commencement of the year 1789, Dr. Coke visited the island, and preached a few times without opposition to increasing congregations; but afterwards, the methodists, like the agents of every other society that has been engaged in the missionary cause, had to suffer persecution. Nevertheless, in the midst of all, churches were gathered, chapels erected, and many souls converted.

CHAPTER II.

NOTICES OF THE FIRST BAPTISTS IN JAMAICA, AND OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MISSION.

The first baptist preacher in Jamaica was George Liele, a black man from Georgia. He and his wife left the United States a few years previously to the termination of the American war, as slaves in the service of a British officer, who soon afterwards died, leaving his servants free. Liele, having purchased a team of horses, and worked as a carrier, and being an active intelligent man, was employed by government, and thus procured a comfortable subsistence for himself and family. He had been pastor of a coloured congregation in America; and soon after his arrival in Jamaica, sought every opportunity to communicate religious instruction to the slaves and free people of colour. The character of this instruction it is somewhat difficult to determine amidst the conflicting evidence that is given; but, in all probability, it was very imperfect and intermingled with many false and superstitious notions.

Three or four others, who were baptized by Mr. Liele, went to Jamaica with him, or about the same time. One of them was a Mr. Gibbs, who removed from Kingston to another part of the island, and commenced preaching. He had a great many followers, some of whom afterwards came under Mr. Phillippo's care.

Mr, Liele arrived in Jamaica before the Wesleyans. He first preached on the race course at Kingston. The novelty of a black itinerant attracted the attention of multitudes; and he was encouraged, doubtless from motives of curiosity and amusement, by merchants and planters. Then he gathered assemblies in a hired room; and after some time, the people purchased a piece of land about a mile from Kingston, where a temporary shed was erected for public worship, till a subscription was raised, amounting to £900, for building a chapel, now occupied by Mr. Killick, and his people, a congregation of the native baptists. Towards the erection of this first dissenting place of worship, several wealthy persons subscribed; and amongst the number is the name of Bryan Edwards, the historian.

Mr. Liele, with the aid of some of the more intelligent persons in the church and congregation, preached, and held meetings, in Spanish Town, and many places in the country.

But while a few treated him with kindness, many were very bitter in their opposition. Soon after the chapel was finished, he was preaching from the passage —"Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they might be saved (Rom. x. 1); on which occasion, he expressed his strong desire for the salvation of his coloured brethren. This was either misunderstood or perverted. He was charged with preaching sedition, and forthwith thrown into prison, where he was treated with the greatest severity. He was loaded with irons, his feet made fast in the stocks, and no one was allowed to see him, not even his wife

or children. At length he was tried for his life; and some of the leading men in Kingston swore against him, alleging that he sought to stir up the slaves to insurrection. But this malignant object did not succeed; he was acquitted, and set at liberty, though he suffered much from confinement, and was involved in heavy expenses.

As he made himself personally responsible for the erection of the chapel, he was embarrassed for money; and the builder, who had professed to be his friend, refused to wait for payment after the money became due, and incarcerated him for debt. On this occasion, he evinced the integrity of his principles; for some of the merchants who were kindly disposed towards him, recommending his taking what is termed the benefit of the act, he refused, and remained in prison till, by the aid of his friends, he paid the entire amount due to the builder. During that imprisonment, he was so much respected by the keeper, that he was allowed to go out by night and visit his family, and also some of his flock who were sick; but he always returned in time to prevent any apprehension in the mind of the jailor.

Soon after the chapel was built, a few persons left the church, on account of some dispute respecting speaking with tongues,—a gift to which several pretended. Mr. Liele, looking upon this as visionary and absurd, disclaimed all connexion with it. But not being able to convince them of their folly, they were separated from the church; and the practice, or pretence, soon sank into oblivion. Subsequently, a man named Robinson was expelled from the church for

adultery; but he assumed the ministerial office, and built a small chapel in Kingston, now occupied by Davis, another of the native preachers. Robinson died as he lived, apparently without conscience or character.

During all the early period of his ministry, Mr. Liele suffered much opposition, and was treated with no little contumely and insult. On one occasion, when the church was about to celebrate the Lord's supper, a gentleman, so called, rode into the chapel, and urging his horse through the midst of the people to the very front of the pulpit, exclaimed, in terms of insolence and profanity, "Come, old Liele, give my horse the sacrament!" Mr. Liele coolly replied, "No, Sir; you are not fit yourself to receive it." After maintaining his position for some time, he rode out. On another ordinance sabbath, three young gentlemen walked into the chapel during service; and going up to the table where the bread and wine had been placed, one of them took the bread, and, breaking it, gave it to his companion, who, with a horrid oath, swore it was good ship bread, presenting it to the third, who refused to take it. It is not unworthy of remark, that the two former were, in a few days, removed into the presence of that God, with whose institution they had so profanely trifled. One died in a state of raving madness from brain fever; the other went out of the harbour in a boat, which was upset and never seen after.

Amongst those who were originally connected with Mr. Liele, there were others, besides those already mentioned, who separated from him, and set up distinct congregations, before the arrival of any missionaries

from England. These generally went forth without the sanction of the church, teaching and practising many errors; and not a few, in different parts of the country, became associated with them; some of whom were good men, but with little information, and often abounding in superstition. The people of course imbibed the false notions of their teachers; but many of them, being afterwards brought under the instruction of European missionaries, had their views rectified, and their characters improved.

The term "native baptists," did not prevail till recently. It was adopted by persons who had either withdrawn, or been expelled from, the churches of the baptist missionaries, and who set up for preachers without any sanction. Some of the fragments of the before-mentioned parties, that had not been brought into the mission churches, after awhile united with them. They first called themselves "independent baptists," from being independent of, and unconnected with, the mission churches. Afterwards, they were solicitous of being united to the churches of the Society, and considered as part of the mission; but the missionaries were averse to the kind of recognition and intercourse they sought, on account of their characters and conduct. This refusal produced irritation, and they charged the missionaries with prejudice against colour, for not uniting with them; and in order, in their anger, to distinguish themselves from the missionaries and their churches, they took the name of "native baptists." Mr. Candler describes them in the following words:—"The denomination called native baptists, are under the teaching of black

and coloured men, who were once leaders in other congregations, but have broken off, and set up as ministers for themselves." Speaking of a visit he paid to a negro village to meet some of these people, he says, "They profess to be baptists, in alliance or connexion with a black baptist teacher in Kingston, which city, twenty-five miles off, they sometimes visit; and after paying their money towards the support of himself and the chapel, receive a ticket of *continued membership*, which they seem highly to value. They are in a very dark state of mind, living, many of them, according to their own confession, in a very immoral manner; but this is no hindrance to church membership, if the leader choose to recommend them as candidates for baptism." It is to be apprehended, that, practically, if not theoretically, there is much of antinomianism amongst them.

A very excellent man, though illiterate, was connected with Mr. Liele's church, of the name of Moses Baker. He came from one of the windward islands, and went to live in the parish of St. James, where he was very useful to the slaves on an estate belonging to Mr. Winn, which afterwards became the property of Sir Samuel Vaughan. Mr. Winn had purchased some persons in Kingston, who were members of Mr. Liele's church; and as they were much distressed at losing their religious privileges, he engaged Moses Baker to accompany them as a teacher, promising him support. Oppressed at length with the infirmities of age, and feeling that he required assistance in his work, he addressed a letter to Dr. Ryland on the subject, which not only met with an immediate response

in the heart of that eminent man, but excited the no less prompt and powerful sympathies of his coadjutors in the missionary enterprise. But although this was the first favourable opportunity of commencing missionary operations in Jamaica, under the auspices of the Society, it must not be imagined that it was the first occasion of pious and benevolent solicitude on that subject. Dr. Ryland had in fact repeatedly adverted to it for some years before, and suggested such a measure to Mr. Fuller; and to him, rather than to any other individual, is to be ascribed the honour of having originated this branch of the mission. The application of Moses Baker was but the incidental means of reanimating a long cherished feeling, and giving it a practical direction.

In a communication to Mr. Fuller, Sept. 2, 1806, Dr. Ryland copies a long letter addressed by Thomas N. Swigle, of Kingston, to Mr. Fysh, at Bristol, in the methodist connexion, in which he states that Dr. Ryland had written to Moses Baker to ask him if it would answer to send a white minister and his wife to Kingston, which was replied to in the affirmative, but accompanied with the intimation that their circumstances at the time rendered them unable to receive one as they could wish. He then details some legal proceedings against Mr. Liele and Dr. Alred, to whom he had leased the chapel for a negro hospital, which occasioned the pecuniary embarassments to which he alluded. Upon this Dr. Ryland remarks, "It appears, if it were not for these heavy expenses, they could and would help to support a minister themselves, if a proper person were sent to them. *I very much wish*

such an one could be found; possessing much prudence, humility, chastity, patience, and zeal." He afterwards adds, "I am sorry our brethren have no white man to assist them, counsel them, or represent their case at home. Swigle has about seven hundred members, and Moses Baker has about a like number."

The colonial government in the town and liberties of Kingston having violently opposed the religious instruction of the negroes, and prevented the preachers from continuing their labours, Dr. Ryland communicated the facts to Mr. Wilberforce, and sought his advice. His first letter was one of acknowledgment.

Brighton, Aug. 28, 1807.

Dear Sir,—Your letter found me at this place, to which Mrs. W. was ordered by medical advice. We mean to return (D. V.) in about a week, or possibly a fortnight. Till then I cannot talk the matter over (as I should like to do previously to advising you), with two or three intelligent friends; I therefore merely acknowledge the receipt of your letter now, and hope to reply to it more fully hereafter. Meanwhile, what a shocking violation of all religious liberty does this law, as it is called, evince! It might almost claim kindred with that of Darius, into which his courtiers beguiled him. May the same gracious Being who frustrated that ungodly attempt defeat this also!

I am, with cordial esteem and regard,

Yours very truly,

W. Wilberforce.

The next communication was more specific, and

sufficiently unfolds the wickedness of the wicked both at home and abroad.

Near London, Nov. 19, 1807.

DEAR SIR,—Since I wrote last, I have conversed with my relation and friend Mr. Stephen, who, I find, has been professionally consulted concerning the late Jamaica law. He is of opinion decidedly that the bye law is illegal, and ought therefore to be resisted in a legal course. Still the colonial courts and juries may suffer the obnoxious religionists to be persecuted illegally; but so they might also if the bye law had never been made. The bye law, being illegal, will not be allowed in any court or country which is governed by law, to protect from prosecutions and penalties any judges, justices, magistrates and officers, who may punish any man, under colour of its authority. Still, in such a community, it is difficult to say what may not be done with impunity. As to your question concerning the probability of Dr. Coke's ordination being more respected than an ordinary license, I really can give no decided opinion. Persons who have resided in that island would be better able to judge. But I am inclined to believe that preachers in a white skin would be likely to be treated better and respected more than black ones. This is all I can now say. When the meeting of parliament shall bring me within reach of West Indians again, I will try in private to soften the prejudices of some leading men connected with that country; but I fear that the prejudices of the resident colonists, and their irreligious habits, are such as to render all attempts to soften them unavail-

ing. May the Almighty open a door which no man can shut!

I am, in haste, dear Sir,
Yours sincerely,
W. WILBERFORCE.

Dr. Ryland has written the following sentence at the foot of the letter: "I cannot but think it is of great importance for us to send out some one speedily. *I have waited with great anxiety several years for some one to send.*"

At length the providence of God appeared to facilitate the views of Dr. Ryland, and open a way for the long meditated effort in Jamaica. Mr. John Rowe, a member of the church at Yeovil in Somersetshire, who had been several years a student in the Bristol academy, and high in the esteem of his tutors, was induced to go to the assistance of Mr. Baker, under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society. After being solemnly set apart to the work in public services, Dec. 8, 1813, conducted by Mr. Sutcliff, Mr. Fuller, and Dr. Ryland, and furnished with judicious instructions for the regulation of his conduct, he proceeded to Jamaica. Upon his arrival, he landed at Montego Bay, Feb. 23, 1814, and then repaired to Flamstead, twelve miles from Falmouth, the residence of Moses Baker. He found every thing in disorder. No regular church government had been maintained, nor the Lord's supper administered, for two or three years. Mr. Baker had been prevented from preaching and conversing with the natives for eight years, though the interdicting law had then ceased for about two years; and in fact, both

there and everywhere on the island, extreme ignorance and various irregularities prevailed.

Amidst the embarassments, of his situation Mr. Rowe acted with great prudence; and after some discussions with the magistrates, to whom he was introduced, and who urged the prejudices of the people against his denomination as a reason for delay in the exercise of his ministerial functions, unwilling to excite hostility against his mission at the outset, he agreed to open a school in Falmouth, which would contribute to his support, already foreseen to be difficult on account of the high price of the necessaries of life. At the same time, he began a gratuitous Sunday school; and a month afterwards, in June, preached to a small congregation of forty persons, which the next week increased to seventy, including several white people of respectability. The open and allowed profanation of the Sabbath he found to be one of his chief obstacles; but he entertained a persuasion that the most certain and permanently good effects would arise from the children of slaves on the estates being instructed to read, and learn the first principles of christianity.

Without any reason being assigned, he was afterwards prohibited from preaching; but the uniform consistency of his conduct was such as to produce a powerful effect in his favour on the minds of the chief magistrate of the parish and several other gentlemen, so that the custos determined, after a short time, to afford him legal protection, that he might resume his ministry.

But while prospects of usefulness were beginning to

open around him, and he began to be duly appreciated in the district, death suddenly arrested his progress on the 7th of June, 1816. "By one of those mysterious operations of the divine hand," says one who records the event, "which sometimes remove from the scene of labour those who have been toiling in the preparatory stages of cultivating the moral wilderness, and give to others the more pleasing task of reaping the fruits of their arduous exertions, this excellent man has been called to receive his eternal reward. Though stationed at a place where the most minute parts of his conduct were liable to the severest scrutiny, he conducted himself with such prudence and meekness as at length to gain the confidence and respect of the most prejudiced, and at his decease, to produce that regret which a consistent and elevated display of the christian character will extort even from the profligate and careless. He has left behind him a memorial of the benevolent views of the society which patronised him, and of the excellence of the sacred truths which it was the business of his life to propagate. If not distinguished by the literary attainments of a Martyn or a Carey, yet to none, probably, of those worthies who have laboured in heathen lands, was our lamented friend inferior in that wisdom from above which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy."

In the previous year, another missionary, Mr. Lee Compere, a member of the church at Halstead in Essex, had been appointed to the island, to occupy a station corresponding with Mr. Rowe's idea of the most favourable spot for spreading the gospel among

the negroes. He and Mrs. Compere sailed from Bristol in November, accompanied by two of the members of Broadmead, who were regarded as skilful in the management of Sunday schools. He at first settled near Old Harbour, on the invitation of the negro baptists, and under the sanction of a license from the mayor of Kingston, to which place he soon removed. Here he was in the centre of thousands of negro baptists; but in consequence of their circumstances as slaves, their ignorance, and disorder, he found only about two hundred to whom he could administer the Lord's supper. But even under his careful selection, they had increased to four hundred in a month; and on three or four estates a great revival of religion had occurred. Soon, however, he became much enfeebled in health by the inclemency of the climate. In a letter dated January 8, 1817, he made an urgent appeal to the committee to send out more help. Two days before, he had baptized fifty persons; and "here are," says he, "many souls continually heaving a sigh to England, and in their broken language continually crying out, 'O buckra, buckra, no care for poor black man's soul! Buckra know God in England. O buckra, come over that great big water, and instruct we poor black negro!'"

The committee, in the mean time, had been providing for the obvious necessity; and after a solemn designation to the work at Broadmead, on the 7th of February, 1817, Mr. James Coultart, a native of Holywood, near Dumfries, and a student at Bristol, sailed for Jamaica, where he arrived, after a tedious voyage, very opportunely; for Mr. Compere had

resolved on departing to America, having become much debilitated. The committee were not entirely satisfied with his conduct, and not unwilling that his connexion with the Society should be thus terminated. He was afterwards usefully employed among the Indians in Georgia.

In addition to the general duties of the station, Mr. and Mrs. Coultart found it desirable to open a school in Kingston, which devolved chiefly on the latter, on account of Mr. Coultart's numerous engagements. His congregation was crowded and attentive; and soon the place of worship was unable to contain more than half the people who were anxious for admittance. The members of the church, with most of the attendants, were formed into classes, under twenty-four leaders, who met every week at his house. About a hundred and eighty were baptized in the course of a very few months; but not without the most rigid inquiry and examination. In September, he was visited with a severe affliction in the loss of his wife by fever, with which she was seized in chapel. The circle of her acquaintance was limited; but she is spoken of as well qualified for her work; and her end, of which she had some time before a presentiment, was peaceful. Mr. Coultart himself, two days after her decease, was attacked by an intermittent fever; and he was at length compelled to seek a renovation of his health by a temporary return to England. Thus were the missionaries mysteriously led through sorrow, danger, and death, along the path of their holy enterprise.

In the mean time, two others, Messrs. Christopher Kitching and Thomas Godden, were appointed to

Jamaica by a public service, July 30th, 1818, at Frome. Both the statements given by these excellent individuals were of a very interesting nature. Mr. Kitching, it appeared, had been reclaimed from a course of vice and folly, through the instrumentality of a worthy minister of the independent denomination in the north of England. Under the auspices of this valuable friend, he was preparing to enter into connexion with the London Missionary Society, when his attention was arrested by the account given in the Evangelical Magazine of the alteration of sentiment in Messrs. Judson and Rice, on the subject of believers' baptism. This induced him to pause, and finally, he was led to adopt the same views; soon after which, he offered himself to the Baptist Missionary Society, and was sent to Bradford academy, where he had been, for a considerable time, pursuing his studies under the direction of Dr. Steadman. Mr. Godden stated, that early in life, he had entered into the royal navy, and for several years experienced the usual vicissitudes attending that profession. His career was terminated by a captivity of eight years' duration at Arras, in France, where he sustained great hardships, and saw many brave companions around him sink under the pressure of their sufferings. Here, however, it pleased Him who is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working, to deliver him from a yet more degrading captivity, and, in the best sense, to make him free indeed. This joyful change was effected by means of a fellow-prisoner, who was accustomed to speak to the rest the words of salvation. Released at length, by the conclusion of the war, he returned to his own

country, united himself to the baptist church at Newbury, and was soon after called by them to the work of the ministry.

Having proceeded to their destination, Mr. Godden went to Spanish Town, and Mr. Kitching to Kingston. Death, however, soon entered again into the missionary circle. Mrs. Godden died in October, 1819, and was followed in a few weeks by Mr. Kitching, December 18th, after a residence of only twelve months. But this brief career was attended by some evident proofs of usefulness. The deepest feeling pervaded the town of Kingston, when his death was known. Hundreds of weeping negroes and coloured people surrounded the house; and it was supposed that five thousand persons at least attended his funeral. "Acquainted," says a friend, in communicating the intelligence, "with the feelings and nature of those whom his work lay amongst, he was highly instrumental in drawing them from their evil propensities; he checked the impetuosity of their tempers; reconciled their differences, without embroiling himself; supported the discipline of the church, and was respected, highly respected, by all. He was a man, if I may be permitted to judge from practical observation, who was eminently calculated for the situation the arrangement of providence called upon him to fill. Steady, upright, and consistent, he carried his plans into effect, and had the gratification of seeing them blessed by their object being accomplished. He was affable to all around him; was incessant in labours to bring the people into order; and on all occasions manifested to them that he was not endeavouring to lord it over the church, but to

afford them his assistance to add to their comfort and purity."

The following narrative has a close connexion with Mr. Kitching, and is in itself deeply impressive. It is contained in a letter written by a minister in England to the secretary of the Society:—

"Some few years since, I was preaching at Plymouth, when a request was sent to the pulpit, to this effect:—'The thanksgivings of this congregation are desired to Almighty God, by the captain, passengers, and crew of the ———, West Indiaman, for their merciful escape from shipwreck, during the late awful tempest.'

"The following day, I went on board the vessel, accompanied by some pious friends from the shore, and, in conversation with the passengers, a lady thus expressed herself:—'Oh, sir, what an invaluable blessing must personal religion be! Never did I see it more exemplified, than in my poor negress, Ellen, during the dreadful storm. When we were tossed to the heavens, and sunk again to the depths, and expecting every succeeding wave would break over the vessel and entomb us all, my mind was in a horrible state; I was afraid to die; I could not think of appearing before God but in dread dismay: Ellen would come to me and say, with all possible composure, "Never mind, missee, look to Jesu Christ; he gave—he rule de sea; be prepared to die."

"'And when, sir, we neared the shore, and were at a loss to know on what part of the coast we were got, my mind still in a most distracted state—I feared to die—I knew nothing of religion, poor Ellen, with the same composure as before, came to me, and said,

"Don't be fear, missee; look to Jesu Christ,—he de rock,—no shipwreck on dat rock,—he save to the utmost,—don't be fear, missee,—look to Jesu Christ." I determined, I hope in divine strength, that if ever we reached the shore in safety, I would seek to possess that religion which so supported the heart of a poor negress, in the midst of such dreadful circumstances.'

"Of course," continued the minister, "I wished to see this poor, yet *rich*, African. She was called to the cabin; but as I wished our conversation to be heard by the sailors, I desired her to go on deck, which she did, and we followed.

"*Minister*. Well, Ellen, I am glad to find that you know something about Jesus Christ.

"*Ellen*. Jesu Christ, massa!—Oh, he be very good to my soul! Jesu Christ!—Oh, he very dear to me.

"*Minister*. How long is it, Ellen, since you first knew the Saviour who is so precious to you?

"*Ellen*. Why, massa, some time ago, me hear Massa Kitching preach about the blessed Jesu. He say to we black people, de blessed Jesu come down from de good world; he pity we poor sinners. We die or he die—he die dat we no die—he suffer on de cross—he spill precious blood for we poor sinners. Me feel me sinner—me cry—me pray to Jesu, and he save me by precious blood. Oh! Jesu Christ very good—he save me.

"*Minister*. And when did you see Mr. Kitching last, Ellen?

"*Ellen*. Massa Kitching, sir? de fever take him—he lie bed—he call we black people his children—he

say, Come round de bed my children: he den say, My children, I go to God—meet me before my God; I go to God—meet me before my God; and den he fall asleep.

"*Minister.* Oh then, Ellen, Mr. Kitching is dead, is he?

"*Ellen.* Dead, sir! Oh no, Massa Kitching no die; he fell asleep, and he sleep till de trumpet of the archangel wake him; and den he go up to God. Massa Kitching no die, he fall asleep.

"Enviable christianity, which enables a poor African to regard death as a sleep, from which the archangel's trump will awake, and summon to the eternal society and enjoyment of that precious Redeemer, whom, having not seen, I hope we love!"

On his return from England with renewed health, Mr. Coultart was able to resume his station at Kingston. In the course of the year 1820, no fewer than two hundred persons were admitted into the church; and these not without an accurate and searching discrimination of their characters.

Many of the details furnished by these African converts were extremely simple and affecting. The following are specimens:—"A poor slave," writes Mr. Coultart, "came to my house this morning to tell me 'that his heart troubled him much.' He burst into tears, saying, 'Oh massa, me too bad for Jesus Christ, me heart work to strong for him—it rise up against me—it give me no rest at all—me try for sleep, it no sleep—it go dis way, it go dat way—it no go to Jesus Christ at all, massa! O massa, what me do, what me do? will Jesus Christ let me perish?' Here he was so

completely overwhelmed, as not to be able to say any more for a considerable time; then quieting himself a little, he said, with much feeling, 'Me never do noting good for Jesus, yet him die for sinners; O may be, him die for me!' Another, after relating how her mind had been first awakened to serious concern, and that a friend, to whom she had communicated her feelings, had advised her to pray, added, 'she den go back, an bow down on her sinful knee, and tell God, she no wish to keep on sin; but she no worthy to come, for she had done no good ting, but only eat sin, and drink sin, and peak sin, and tink sin, all her sinful life; and now, massa,' she said, in great agony and tears of disappointment, 'sin no leave me yet, massa!'" The same letter contains the following anecdote, tending to show how these poor people valued their religious privileges. "A slave wished his owner to give him permission to attend with God's people to pray; his answer was, 'No, I will rather sell you to any one who will buy you.' 'Will you,' said he, 'suffer me to buy myself free, if me can?' 'If you do, you shall pay dearly for your freedom; as you are going to pray, £250 is your price.'* 'Well, massa, it a great deal of money, but me must pray; if God will help me, me will try and pay you.' He has been a long time working hard, and at last sold all that himself and wife had, except his blanket, to purchase liberty to pray in public, or, in other words, to meet with those who love Jesus Christ!" Who can wonder, that with instances like these in his view, Mr. Coultart should exclaim,

* The common price of a slave was £140, if a good servant.

"I am really lost in gratitude; God is found of many here, who, a very little time ago, sought not after him. Not an iota of praise belongs to me: my heart would disdain it. It is unquestionably God's doing, however marvellous in our eyes!"*

The mission house in Spanish Town was nearly consumed, with all its contents, in July, 1820; and Mr. Godden had a narrow escape with his life. There was reason to believe it to have been the work of an incendiary. Some very eligible premises for his residence, and for the purposes of public worship, were afterwards purchased. Mr. Godden's health, however, was by no means re-established, and he was severely tried by the moral defection of some of his hearers, after receiving the word with apparent joy and impression. Others afforded him the greatest satisfaction; and the strength of their attachment surpassed, in some instances, all that could have been imagined. A very remarkable instance of this occurred in the night of the fire in Spanish Town. A female slave, who had been previously baptized, exerted herself greatly in carrying water from the river to assist in extinguishing the flames. When nearly exhausted, she inquired of the by-standers, "Where my minister?" A person answered, "He has been burnt in his bed." The poor woman was so overwhelmed at this intelligence, that she fell down, and instantly expired, without uttering another word.

At the earnest solicitation of some persons of colour, in the parish of Manchioneal, Mr. Coultart paid them

* Report of 1821.

a visit. The account of his journey will furnish a good idea of the country, and the situation of the missionaries:—"Manchioneal is sixty-three miles from Kinsgton. The road is remarkably rough, and in many parts dangerous to a good and well mounted rider. The passes in Jamaica must be much like those in Scotland, which Sir Walter Scott so interestingly describes. The way I travelled commands, at irregular distances, an extensive view of the sea, with a variety of bays and ports, which contain but few English vessels at this season of the year. The estates are numerous, and the cane fields rich in their appearance, as the time of harvest is near. I had, for miles of my way, not more than a few inches to spare between me and a precipice of five hundred feet. * * *

"Set out on Friday from Yallahs, twenty miles from Kingston, where I rode on the Thursday evening. Reached Morant Bay on the same morning, about six, and remained there during the heat of the day. This place is pleasantly situated, and has a small fort, with guns of very heavy calibre. Port Morant is the next place of any consequence; has but few houses compared with the latter, and no chapel or church near that I could hear of. Bath is the next stage; but though a neat and elegant little village, has no place for the accommodation of travellers. I could not beg nor buy food for my horses, (for I was obliged to borrow a horse in addition to my own, for the heavy journey.) Had no time to look at the springs which have given such celebrity to this village. The cotton trees about this place seemed decorated with ten thousand living lamps, perpetually shifting their posi-

tion, and now and then dancing, in fairy-like confusion, among the thick green foliage. A stranger, brought from your side of the Atlantic, not having heard of these earthly luminaries, might have deemed himself travelling among the stars. The way to catch as many as you please, is to take a fiery stick, and blow upon it, making a kind of intermitting light, like that which the flies themselves keep up. By the time I had reached the top of a very high mountain, at the most easterly part of the island, the sun was just rising, amidst the inexpressible grandeur of a western sky, and illuminating, with his first rays, the unbroken bosom of the sea. Whilst waiting beneath a tree, to shelter myself a little from a heavy shower, I saw, to my great astonishment, a company of those beetles called Hercules, rolling some ponderous balls of goats' dung before them up the hill. The rapidity of their march is amazing, considering the large size of the ball they rolled on before them, and the clay, too, it had accumulated in passing over the wet ground. I arrived at Miss C——'s to breakfast, the termination of my journey, and truly a fatiguing one. You will, perhaps, think a journey of that distance may be undertaken often, until I inform you that it took me nearly three days, and cost me for tea, with bad bread and butter and bed, £1. 2*s*. 1*d*.; for breakfast next morning for myself and boy, 13*s*. 4*d*.; grass and corn for horses, 10*s*. They charge at the rate of a penny per pound for green wet grass, and tenpence per quart for corn. Dinner for myself and boy, £1. 13*s*. 4*d*.; and for horses, 11*s*. 8*d*., &c.; but the poor people I went to visit, were so generous as to make the lady of the house in which

I stopped, slip sufficient to pay my expenses into the portmanteau."

The people attended in crowds on Mr. Coultart's preaching, and expressed the strongest desire to enjoy the constant labours of a missionary; and even began at once, in anticipation of it, to subscribe for the erection of a place of worship. Some time afterwards, another station presented itself; and as opportunities began to multiply, the committee resolved on sending out an additional missionary. Accordingly, Mr. Joshua Tinson, who had been several years educating for missionary service, under the patronage of the Society, was selected, and sent into this field.

The venerable Moses Baker having become blind with age, at the instigation of the proprietor of the estate where he had long successfully laboured in instructing the negroes, Mr. Henry Tripp, of Kingston, was requested to make trial of the station. He was considered as peculiarly eligible, being competent to unite some secular employment on the estate, which was thought desirable, with the ministerial vocation. To this he consented, and proceeded thither with his family. Mr. Coultart has given a very pleasing picture of Moses Baker, in the interview he enjoyed before this arrangement was completed.—"I went with the old man to the little chapel, which was filled to the door, and heard him catechise between one and two hundred children, and some adults. These, and many more adults, nearly all that were in the chapel, repeated the Lord's prayer, &c.; and the children repeated graces before and after meat, and many of Watts's hymns. I confess I have not seen so

pleasing a sight on the island. A considerable number came on the following morning, and repeated to me parts of the Old and New Testaments, which the old man had taught them. Mr. Baker conducted the worship with great propriety, though now blind. I preached to nearly six hundred persons, amongst whom were the proprietor and his nephew, the doctor, overseers, and book-keepers, and many persons of colour. Mr. Baker is neither superstitious nor enthusiastic; he is evidently spiritual in all things; has much good sense; speaks scripturally, and with much feeling. I saw some instances of his decision and firmness in religious discipline which surprised me; and Mr. ——— speaks in high terms of the character and conduct of his negroes, which he ascribes to their religion."

In the course of the year 1821, many of Mr. Coultart's friends were removed by death. They afforded the most encouraging evidence of the genuineness of their christian profession. Such had been the mortality, that nine had been removed in one week. The following interesting account may serve as a specimen, both of the history and character, of many others:—

"Mrs. Brooks has long been an exemplary character. She was born in Africa; her parents, she used to say, were remarkably fond of her, being their only child: their little hut was no great distance from the sea: she was large enough to stroll some way from home, which she did one day whilst her mother, the only remaining parent at home, was engaged in some domestic duty. A party of British sailors, who had been on the watch for such unoffending victims, laid hold of her, and carried her on board their ship. She

wept bitterly, she said, for she thought they would soon eat her, as she could not think of any thing else they could possibly do with her. She was so sad she could not eat the food they offered her. The loss of her dear parents, *dear though black*, and her fears, so wrought upon her mind, that a fever attacked her, and nearly relieved her from her more degraded oppressors. After recovering a little, she arrived at Kingston; saw some beef in the market, she said; and said to herself, 'now I see how they cut up we poor tings to sell and eat.' The cargo was sent to America, herself excepted: her now disconsolate husband was then in the employ of the person to whom the cargo was consigned, and he entreated his master not to send this young girl away, as she appeared to him rather superior to the others. After a time, she became afflicted; God told her mind, she said, that she was a great sinner; she believed it, and felt that poignant distress which some convinced and hopeless sinners feel; went to hear Mr. Liele, and by him was told to go to Jesus Christ, which after some time, she ventnred to do. Her own words are, 'Massa, me feel me distress, me heart quite big wi grief, for God no do me no wrong; him do all good for me,—me do all bad to him. Ah massa! me heart too full an too hard; me eye no weep, but someting so gentle come through me heart, den me eye fill, and God make me feel dat him so good to notice poor me, dat me throw meself down, and weep quite a flood.' The black man who had obtained her permission to stop on the island, now purchased her from his employer, married her, and went to a little pen out of town to live. But her

husband was not pious; he persecuted her much, used her badly, and threatened to put her away, because she prayed. She said that she often wept and prayed on his account, but he still remained the same impenitent person. One night, in particular, she entreated God much 'to do something for him.' When he fell asleep, she arose and prayed, 'Blessed God, dy eye open, dou seest dat poor man; me no able to tell de what him do; but him do ebery bad ting;—do, good Lord, do someting for him; make him blind eye see him danger, him dumb mouth peak! O do, me sweet massa Lord, do make him heart, him stony heart feel!' She got into bed again undiscovered, and in a little time he awoke, weeping very bitterly, having been disturbed in a dream; he cried, 'my wife, my dear wife, get up an pray for me poo sinner,—you husband lost! O him lost!' In the morning, he was still in great trouble, arose and went to seek for a good man, to tell him whether he would be lost or not. The man he found told him, 'dat no religion,—religion no come like dat.' His instructor either knew nothing of true religion, or supposed that God had but one way of bringing sinners to himself. The account filled him with grief; but he said, as he left the blind guide, 'Well, if me no got religion in me heart, it quite time to seek it; God will may be give me a little.' God has indeed manifested himself to this now bereaved man 'as he does not unto the world.' They were, after their public profession, most exemplary in every christian duty. She lived nine, and sometimes twelve miles from Kingston, but she was most regular in her attendance, an attentive hearer,

and was generally bathed in tears. She once made a little remark about the former Mrs. Coultart, which was applicable to herself in a high degree. Whilst my present wife was teaching her to read, she said, in her usual affectionate way, 'Me loving pickaniny, what make God take away that other loving pickaniny just when she coming to do we poor perishing tings good? Me tink dis: God have him garden, she one of the fruit, him take de ripe fruit first,—it no so, me child?' She had a strong desire to read the Bible; but said, she should not live to read it all, but she wished to learn two or three verses of some psalm that suited her. When she heard the two first verses of the hundred and third, she said, 'Yes, teach me these; em help to peak God's goodness, for him so good to me, poor ting, dat me no know how to tell him so, and him own words best.' She lived to learn them, but she is gone to heaven to repeat them to her good Lord that she loved so much. She died of a short illness, and was, when I saw her last, insensible from severe fever."

In the letters of Mr. Coultart, abundant evidences appear both of the power and the progress of religion. The sublime character and the sanctifying energy of the gospel flash, like brilliant beams of sunshine amidst parting clouds, through the broken forms of negro language. In the first five years of the mission, about one thousand had been added to the church, of whom nearly five hundred had joined within two years; "and we have," says Mr. Coultart, "been *very particular*,"—that is, in the admissions.

"A Guinea negro, whose experience we lately heard,

observed respecting himself, that from the time he came from the Guinea coast, "him no able to take word; if any one offend him, me take knife, me take tick, me no satisfy till me drink him blood;—now me take twenty bad word: then me tief, me drink, me ebery bad ting. Somebody say me must pray: me say, no,—what me pray for? rum best pray for me; give me someting good for eat, dat better dan pray.' 'What made you change your mind then?' 'Massa, me go to church one Sunday, and me hear massa parson say, Jesus Christ come an pill him blood for tinner. Ah, someting say, you heara dat,—him pill him blood! Ah, so! den me de tinner, me de tief, me de drunkard! Him pill him blood for Guinea niger! Oh, oh! Jesus Christ die for poo niger before him know him!' thinking, as seems quite natural to them, that Jesus becomes acquainted with them just then, because he is telling them all they have done.

"One of our female friends came thirty miles the other morning, to tell me of her recovery from sickness, that I might unite with her in praising God. She gave me a long account of the means used for her recovery, which she imagined God had revealed to her in a dream. I said, 'Mary, take care; God is very good, but you must not think too much about dreams, for Satan sometimes puts on white clothes.' 'Yes, massa,' she replied, 'me know; but me no heed so much what me feel, as what dat me feel make me do.' She added, 'when me hear any body peak, me say, Well, me see what you do; and me watch quite close, for it no hard ting to peak christian, but it quite hard to maintain the christian.'

"Our monthly prayer-meeting is well attended, although we are obliged to meet before the sun goes down, to avoid the penalty. I am sure that some of the prayers offered up by these sons of Canaan would deeply affect your hearts could you hear them. One said in his prayer last monthly meeting, with great fervour, 'Lord, save we poo black sinner! break up all de dibble's work him done in me heart, and save poo African, an me *poo Guinea niger*, from dat place where no sun shine, where no tar twinkle!' It is some encouragement to hear these poor things pray, and we do hope prayer will prevail against sin, and that this desert will in answer thereto be watered and become very fruitful."

In January, 1822, Mr. Coultart opened his new chapel, many thousands attending on the occasion, multitudes of whom could only be accommodated with benches on the outside. Subsequently, the regular worship was well sustained by numerous attendants; and some Europeans evinced serious concern about salvation. The chapel contained 2000, and was well filled, even on a week day. Mr. Coultart furnishes the following pleasing anecdote. "Three nights ago, a man of decent appearance came to relate what he thought of himself and of the Saviour; said he had been living for himself, and 'neider did know or think any ting about God.' The greatest part of his time he had lived in Kingston; and changing masters frequently, he had, as is the custom in this colony, changed his old name with his old master, the last of whom wished him to become a christian. Poor things, they think that christening effects this great object!

He asked a friend who belonged to the baptists, to *stand* for him; but he refused, and asked him to think what sort of a christian man could make him: as for him, he no know man's christian; him only know christian God make.' This puzzled the poor man, who thought 'something in *right christian* him no know.' 'Him made a christian; but him still go on in him old way, for him no know him doing wrong.' Here I interrupted him, to learn the force of conscience, in the way Paul states it, with regard to the heathen. I said, 'James, you say you did not know God, you no hear any ting about him;—when you do sin, you no know it sin? conscience within you no tell you dat bad, God angry for dat?' He said, 'Yes, conscience tell me, and trouble me much; but nevertheless, me no heed conscience much.' William, 'the friend, the faithful friend,' as he termed him, 'courted' him to a little prayer-meeting conducted by themselves; and '*dere God catch him poor runaway!* He see Jesus love him, poor ting, and him want to love Jesus, and keep his commands.' I asked him, who persuaded him to be baptized. 'William make him hear what Jesus say, Believe, and be baptize. Now him believe Jesus to be the Son of God and only Saviour, an him wish to gie himself quite up to Jesus, an take Jesus for him tick (staff) to lean upon till him last day on earth.'"

Notwithstanding the pecuniary difficulties of the Society, the committee deemed it their duty to adopt measures for the occupancy of a new sphere of missionary exertion, which appeared to them to have presented itself providentially at the British settlement of Honduras, in the Bay of Mexico. Mr. Angas of Newcastle, who

had long held commercial connexion with the settlement, and felt much concerned to promote its moral and spiritual interests, proposed to give a free passage to any missionary that might be sent. It was known also that the commandant, lieutenant-colonel Arthur, was desirous of extending christianity among the native tribes. Not only were the negroes numerous who were employed in cutting down timber in the forests, but the chief of the musquito Indians, who inhabit a large tract of coast to the south-east of Honduras, had been always friendly with the English, and had expressed a wish that instructors might be sent to his dominions. In addition to this, the facility of communication was great between the settlement and those extensive provinces which were rejecting the Spanish yoke. Mr. James Bourne, therefore, who had been for some years a student in the academy at Bradford, and was considered as possessing suitable qualifications, was appointed, to this service, and sailed in April, 1822, in company with Mr. Tinson, who was going out to Jamaica. Mr. Bourne had to lament the loss of his wife in the November after his arrival, and experienced various impediments which left him in a state of comparative inactivity. His correspondence, however, evinced an unabated devotedness of heart to the objects of his mission.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Tinson visited Manchioneal in company with Mr. Coultart, and was received by the negroes with every demonstration of respect and affection, as well as by persons of respectability in the neighbourhood; but failing to obtain a license for that parish, he was compelled to return to Kingston. This

disappointment was providentially overruled to introduce him to a new and extensive sphere of usefulness among the negro population of the metropolis. A large body of coloured people had met together several years under great disadvantages, through the want of instruction. At their urgent request, Mr. Tinson was induced to undertake their superintendence, which afforded the opportunity of more direct and close co-operation with Mr. Coultart than would otherwise have been practicable. The church consisted of four hundred members, to which there were speedily numerous additions.

Still solicitous of providing for the wants of Manchioneal, the committee determined on sending out another missionary. Dr. Ryland was especially anxious on the subject, and succeeded in obtaining a member of his own church in Broadmead, Mr. Thomas Knibb, a native of Kettering, to devote himself to this work. He sailed with Mrs. Knibb, on the 10th of December, 1822, having a gratuitous passage in the *Ocean*. On arriving, he found that both Mr. Coultart and Mr. Tinson had been debilitated by alarming illnesses; the former especially requiring immediate aid in his multiplied labours among a church now consisting of 2700 members. The large free school demanded an experienced teacher, and the neighbouring town of Port Royal presented a new field of effort in a rapidly increasing congregation. Mr. Knibb consequently remained at Kingston. The account he has given of a service soon after his arrival, is of an interesting character, and furnishes a graphic picture of the proceedings and prospects of the missionaries at the time:—

"The congregation at Kingston is very large. It would surprise you to witness the earnest attention with which they listen to the word. They seem to listen as though they never heard of salvation before, or as if they wished to catch every word.

"I shall now proceed to give you an account of the second sabbath I spent here, a day to be remembered with peculiar pleasure. Being ordinance day, and there being many candidates for baptism, this was the day fixed for administering the two ordinances. Baptism is administered at an early hour for several reasons: 1st, that those who are servants may be back to their employers in time; 2nd, that the sun should not scorch us; and, 3rd, to prevent the assemblage of carriages, &c. We set off, between four and five, for the sea-side, there being too many for the baptistery in the chapel. Though it was so early, vast numbers were assembled at the place of baptism, and many had slept all night under the trees to be there in time. Tents were erected for dressing, and enclosed with rails. A number of canoes filled with spectators, formed a semicircle, within which baptism was administered. Though the numbers were great, they behaved with the greatest decorum, and seemed impressed with the solemnity of the ordinance. The candidates were arranged in double columns,—the men on the one side, and the women on the other. The women had white dresses, and the men white trowsers and shirts. Mr. Coultart and I, and several of the members, leaders, deacons, &c., stood between the columns, and commenced by singing and prayer. I then took two of the men into the water,

to a sufficient depth, and after repeating the usual words, baptized them. The time the ordinance was administering was employed in singing, which lasted nearly an hour. Out of eighty females, not one made the least disturbance, or discovered the least fear of the water. Nothing occurred to interrupt the solemnity of this important, this interesting ordinance. The number of persons baptized was a *hundred and fifty-two*. It was an interesting spectacle, such a one as perhaps is seldom witnessed. The greatest caution has been exercised in receiving these candidates. Many more have been rejected than have been received. Their knowledge, doubtless, is scanty, but many of their prayers testify that they are acquainted with the fundamental truths of the gospel. They have no inducements to hypocrisy, except ridicule and persecution be inducements. Mr. Coultart is as faithful in addressing them as a man can possibly be; telling them that it will be of no use whatever to be baptized if they do not love and serve God,—on the contrary, it would be far better for them if they were never baptized at all.

"In the afternoon, the Lord's supper was administered. This was also a spectacle that would rejoice the hearts of the people of God to witness. The far greater part of the congregation remained, and above a thousand partook of this christian repast. When will the time arrive when the far greater part of English congregations will sit down to celebrate the dying love of the Saviour! God grant that it may be hastened! One of the natives said to me, 'O how I should like to go to England, where the good people live who send out good men to teach us!' Poor man,

thought I, you would be greatly disappointed; you would wonder to see so few remain at the table of the Lord, and so many who care for none of these things.

"Our monthly prayer-meeting was well attended. The earnest and simple prayers of the negroes affected me much: I was highly delighted. How much did I wish that my Bristol christian friends could witness the sight. It would, I am sure, have done their hearts good to hear a poor African pray in the presence of hundreds of his fellow-countrymen, 'thanking God that he had sent the gospel to poor black negroes, who were so wicked as to deserve to be shut up with devils, where no sun shine, and where no Saviour come.'"

The church was conducted in a manner similar to the plan of the methodists. Being divided into six classes, which met several times a-week in different parts of the city, for reading, prayer, and other exercises, under their respective leaders; before any one was baptized, he was required to attend class as a follower, till he should be thought a proper subject. This attendance was sometimes continued for a year or two before he could be admitted. When a follower was proposed for baptism, it was necessary that the leader should express his approbation, and make inquiries in the circle in which he moved. A meeting was then held, to hear his experience, at which the pastor and leaders presided, when the question of his admission was carefully decided.

In the mean time, the Society at home had been placed in circumstances of pecuniary embarrassment, which for a time threatened to obstruct their operations.

It was found necessary to borrow a large sum of money, to meet the engagements of the Society, and save it from dishonour, of which £3000 remained unpaid at the anniversary of 1822. Soon afterwards, a plan was proposed for the liquidation of the debt by a separate subscription, payable in case the whole amount was contributed. This suggestion succeeded; and not only was an amount raised equal to the debt, but far surpassing it. The ordinary income suffered no diminution by this effort; on the contrary, the receipts of the ensuing year exceeded those of the preceding.

While new and important scenes were presenting themselves to view around the missionaries,—one especially at Anotta Bay, where the people flocked in multitudes to hear the word, while several hundreds had in the course of the year been added to the churches,—Mr. Coultart felt compelled to repair to England with his wife, on account of her continued and increasing illness. Mr. Godden, also, had been long seriously indisposed, in consequence of having been overtaken by a shower of rain, on his return from a village service. He therefore, accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Coultart and Mr. Tripp, who was induced by a domestic bereavement to leave; and they reached Liverpool in the end of 1823. This absence, however, was supplied by the appointment of Mr. Ebenezer Phillips and Mr. Philippo, who, with their wives and Mr. and Mrs. Fleming, destined to join Mr. Bourne at Belize, on the Bay of Honduras, were furnished with a gratuitous passage by Messrs. Angas and Co. These last, however, were both removed by a malignant fever soon after their

arrival. Mr. Phillips, after being some time at Kingston, proceeded to Anotta Bay. The destination of Mr. Phillippo, was Spanish Town.

On the 14th of October, 1823, Mr. Thomas Burchell, a member of Mr. Winterbotham's church, at Nailsworth, was publicly set apart at Trowbridge. His intended location was Flamstead.

The work of Mr. Phillips commenced auspiciously. On the last sabbath of December, 1823, he baptized, in the new chapel, one hundred and forty-eight persons, whose characters had previously undergone the strictest scrutiny; and on the same day, one hundred and one were added to the second church, under the care of Mr. Tinson.

In the beginning of 1825, Mr. Phillips wrote encouragingly, as follows:—"Our attendance of every class is still good, which is rather an unusual circumstance for the whites. I have heard from respectable sources (and I partly believe it), that there is already a surprising alteration in the morals of the people here. No place could possibly be more heathenish than this, before we came here: there was no observance of the sabbath, no worship of God at all, but rioting and drunkenness, and every evil work. One of the resident gentlemen told me, that he had been here twenty-one years, and only been twice to church in all that period: it is (besides the want of inclination) so formidable to travel long distances in the sun in this hot climate. But I hope more positive good has been effected, than merely improving the morals of the people. This is only like clearing away the rubbish; but we have been instrumental in 'planting in the wilderness, the cedar;'

though, 'not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory.' On the first sabbath in this month, we formed ourselves into a christian church. Our number was about forty, who had all been previously baptized by different persons; and of all, I have reason to entertain pleasing expectations. Our church is principally composed of negroes; many more would gladly have come, but I wished to wait a little longer, as I have exercised the strictest scrutiny, and the closest personal investigation. Our ordinance was a solemn scene; many were in tears. I felt quite happy in my own mind, and quite at home in my Master's work."

In the spring, Mr. Bourne paid a visit to several places under Spanish dominion, to the southward of Belize. The first was to the settlement at Amao, about two hundred miles distant, where he found the people in a miserable state as it respected religion. One woman, supposing him to be a priest, came to him to confess, which gave him occasion to refer her to a higher source for the forgiveness of sins. He went up the Gulf of Dalic to Isabella, a place chiefly occupied to receive goods to and from Guatimala and Belize. The inhabitants were chiefly Indians, with a few Spániards, who had no priest among them, and seemed, if possible, in a worse condition than those at the former settlement. Conversation was held, and tracts distributed among them, which they appeared eager to receive. In addition to the general services conducted at Belize, in preaching, and teaching a Sunday school, Mr. Bourne devoted a portion of time every week to visit the free coloured people, and converse and pray with them

from house to house. They consisted chiefly of disbanded soldiers, comprising, with themselves and families, nearly a thousand persons, in two villages, lying north and south of Belize. At length, after various difficulties, Mr. Bourne succeeded in purchasing an eligible plot of ground, for the erection of a chapel and dwelling-house. His congregations were good, and occasionally crowded; and he baptized several persons on a profession of faith. The Sunday school gradually increased, and the improvement made by some of the pupils was very encouraging. Twenty adults were in the school, several of whom could read the Testament. Their habits and general dulness, however, rendered it difficult to preserve order.

Mr. Coultart having returned to his important sphere of labour at Kingston in the beginning of April, 1824, found all well; but in three weeks he had to lament the decease of Mr. Thomas Knibb, who conducted the free school in connexion with the church. By his assiduity in that department, and his occasional services in the ministry, he had acquired general esteem, and was deeply regretted. An ear and eye witness said, that his feeling in the pulpit was evidently that of a man who had left the world behind him, with eternity full in view, and his spirit ready for its flight, but longing and pleading, like Abraham, for a guilty population. The school, and the duties of the church, required a peculiar character, and every one who knew him admitted his adaptation to his work. Although formed of very rude materials, the school prospered under his prayerful and solicitous superintendence, which was constantly directed to the spiritual benefit

of those whom he was required to instruct. The whole was conducted with that facility which is usually characteristic of talent for a work, combined with a sense of pleasure in performing it.

In order to supply this vacancy, Mr. William Knibb, a younger brother, sailed, with his wife, in the *Ocean*, captain Whittle, early in November. The ship was nearly lost in a tremendous gale, off Beachy Head; but the God of the winds and the waves preserved them for services of the highest importance, as will be hereafter seen. He communicated the following account of his arrival to a friend in Bristol:—"As soon as we passed Port Royal, a canoe came to us, which we had no sooner entered, than—'Please massa, you massa Knibb?' 'Yes.' 'Me thought so—so like your broder; me be glad to see you, we thought you drowned; we hab been looking for you dis month.' On landing, another hailed us,—'Oh! massa preacher come! Me must carry someting, me be so glad.' We procured a wherry, and reached Kingston in less than an hour, where we met with a hearty reception. The next morning I visited the school. The children leaped for joy—indeed, they could not refrain from dancing, for a negro must express his joy. Their writing is excellent, and they appear to improve greatly. Could you visit the school, you would say my dear brother has not run in vain, neither laboured in vain. Some of the children have excellent capacities, and retentive memories. One little girl repeated several chapters of the Bible, and the whole of Dr. Watts's Divine Songs, at one time."

In addition to his usual labours at the place of his

residence, where vast numbers were continually joining the church, Mr. Coultart exerted himself to widen the sphere of missionary influence; and for this purpose, purchased a plot of ground to form a station at Mount Charles, about twenty miles from Kingston.

In the year 1824, he baptized four hundred and fifty persons. After stating this fact, in a letter to Dr. Ryland, he proceeds to give the following narrative, which at once illustrates the power of religion in the negro, and the watchful care for its purity exercised by the missionary:—

"I called, the other evening, upon one of our poor members, that was supposed to be dying. I asked him how his mind was; what his thoughts of death. 'Quite happy,' was his reply, 'and ready to go.' I said, 'Take care, don't deceive yourself; you have been a vile sinner, a sad worthless creature, both to God and his church; take care, don't build on the sand.' He seemed astonished for a minute or two, and was silent; then, as if he had collected all his energy, and freed himself from the hand of death, he sprang up on his bed, saying, 'No, minister, no; I am not deceived; you are clear of my blood.' I said, 'Let that be to me; your time is short; ask God to forgive you, for Christ's sake; let nothing take your attention from Jesus now; cry to him till you feel his love.' I prayed with him, and left him. In a day or two, some one came again, and said he was dying. I hastened to his bed-side. There stood his friends, and his weeping companion sat by him on the bed. He was dreadfully convulsed; and when he opened his eyes and saw me, he cried out very loud, 'Minister, bless you; I am safe; Jesus Christ

has not forgotten a poor wicked, worthless sinner. No; I am a dying man, but thank thee, O Saviour, for the gospel, for thyself; come, and take poor me. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.' My heart leaped for joy to see this poor *black* brand plucked out of the fire. I never saw such ecstacy in death before,—looked on him in his last agony in amazement, and said, 'Surely the blood of Christ speaketh better things than that of Abel.' I thank God I crossed the Atlantic to see this, to receive the blessing and the delightful testimony of this poor descendant of Canaan, going where there is no more curse."

The progress of Mr. Phillippo, at Spanish Town, was impeded, partly by illness, and partly by untoward circumstances. He was required to render military service, which being inconsistent with his missionary character, he properly refused; and, in consequence, would probably have suffered imprisonment, had not the custos, the Hon. Francis Smith, interfered on his behalf with the governor. Immediate orders, also, were sent out by the British government for his exemption. His prospects, in other respects, were pleasing. At Old Harbour, a chapel was erected at the expense of individuals resident in the vicinity. Many were soon baptized there, as well as at Spanish Town; and Mr. Phillippo not only had a school of between one and two hundred, of whom thirty were from Jewish families, but established a large Lancasterian institution.

At Anotta Bay, the church increased, and christian efforts were unimpeded, excepting by the feeble health of the pastor; and their cheering prospects were soon

clouded by the death of both Mr. and Mrs. Phillips. The church had increased from forty to upwards of a hundred members, and the school for negro children was well attended; but the decree went forth, and these beloved instructors were removed.

Messrs. James Flood, Edward Baylis, and James Mann, were sent out from the committee in May, and arrived in the beginning of June, 1826. Mr. Flood took up his residence at Mount Charles for some time, dividing his labours between that station and Anotta Bay, till he removed to Kingston to supply the church in East Queen street during the absence of Mr. Coultart, who had gone to England, partly from the dangerous state of Mrs. Coultart, who had returned home some time before on account of ill health, and partly to seek aid for the public schools connected with his station in Kingston. Mr. Coultart's church continued to increase; and the church under the pastoral care of Mr. Tinson, which assembled in an old building about a mile from Kingston, had been blessed with a gratifying portion of prosperity,—upwards of three hundred having been added by baptism, and many were inquiring the way of salvation. But the dilapidated state of the building in which the people met, its inconvenient distance from the city, and a desire to provide additional means of religious instruction for a numerous and ill-supplied population, induced many of the members, encouraged by the missionaries, to seek an eligible situation in Kingston, with a view of removing the church. Suitable premises accordingly having been obtained, the greater part of the members withdrew, to form a new church; the place was

opened on the 24th of December, 1826; and on January the 7th, 1827, the church was formed, consisting of two hundred and eighty-two town members, and about two hundred living on estates in different parts of the country.

On the 13th of April, 1827, the church at Mount Charles was formed, consisting of forty-nine members, and Mr. Baylis recognized as its pastor. Of the members which composed this church, thirty-four were dismissed from Kingston, and fifteen baptized in the morning of the same day the church was constituted.

During this year, Mr. Joseph Burton, who had been for some time pastor of a baptist church in Canterbury, desirous of being engaged in missionary labours, offered his services to the committee, and was appointed to Jamaica. Mr. and Mrs. Burton landed at Morant Bay on the 27th of August, 1827, and undertook to superintend the church in East Queen street, Kingston, till the return of Mr. Coultart. Mr. and Mrs. Flood removed to Anotta Bay, to give their whole attention to that portion of the mission; which being prospered, he soon extended the sphere of his operations by a new station at Charles Town, ten miles from Anotta Bay, the residence of a maroon clan. On Mr. Coultart's return, Mr. and Mrs. Burton removed to Port Maria, where a missionary was greatly needed. A congregation was soon gathered; and collecting the members living in that neighbourhood, who belonged to other baptist churches, Mr. Burton formed a church at Port Maria on March 16th, 1828, consisting of one hundred and sixty-seven members. He commenced, also, two

subordinate stations, at Oracabessa and Bray Head; but afterwards removed to East Queen Street Kingston.

In the mean time, Mr. Burchell devoted himself very successfully to the towns of Montego Bay and Crooked Spring, on the north-western part of the island. These places are about ten miles distant from each other. The former, the capital of that part of the island, contained about six or seven thousand inhabitants, with a large negro population around it, but was ill supplied with religious instruction. This induced Mr. Burchell to reside in the Bay, for the purpose of establishing a new station in the town, where, on the 29th of February, 1824, he formed a church of twelve members. So much attention was excited, that the room first occupied as a place of worship was soon found utterly inadequate to the accommodation of the hearers; a large house was taken, but the congregation still increased; and many were converted to God. There was, however, great opposition, and various obstacles were thrown in the way of the attendance of the negroes. The success was equally remarkable at Crooked Spring, where the eagerness of the negroes to hear the word was such that they frequently resorted thither from great distances, even fifteen or twenty miles, to unite in the public services. One or two other stations were also formed, and a wealthy proprietor offered premises to the Society at about one third of their value, on condition that a missionary should be settled at Ridgeland, an estate in Westmorland. These were purchased in 1826. In the early part of that year, however, the health of Mr. Burchell, had so much declined that he was compelled to under-

take a voyage to England. Having made an appeal to the public on behalf of Montego Bay, he returned in January, 1827, with the means of erecting a suitable place of worship, which was speedily accomplished. Mr. Mann had occupied his station during his absence, and continued for a time to co-operate with him in the general duties of the mission, till a new station which he undertook, was formed at Falmouth, where the most eager and general desire had been expressed for religious instruction. Many of the inhabitants had been in the habit of attending the chapels at Montego Bay and Crooked Spring, and a considerable number had become members. Falmouth is about twenty-two miles east of Montego Bay, in the parish Trelawney, which contained twenty-six thousand slaves. Here Mr. Mann constituted a church, in May, 1827, of forty members, of whom several were the fruits of Mr. Rowe's early labours. At this period, there were eight churches in the island, and five thousand two hundred and forty-six members: the clear increase during six previous months having been seven hundred and twenty-one.

It would scarcely be just to Mr. Burchell, to the negro, or our work, to omit the following interesting conversation which he held with one of his church members on his death-bed.

"Calling on this poor man one day, when he was very ill, I said, 'Well, my friend, do you think God unkind for afflicting you so severely?'

"*A.* No, massa.

"*Q.* Don't you feel sometimes disposed to complain?

"*A.* No; pray to God not to let me.

"*Q.* What makes you feel resigned?

"*A.* Me know God do no wrong; him know what is best; him do best.

"*Q.* Have you ever felt sorry for coming to Christ?

"*A.* Oh no! me feel sorry me no come before; me too glad me hear of Jesus Christ.

"*Q.* How do you feel in the prospect of death?

"*A.* Me feel happy.

"*Q.* What makes you happy?

"*A.* De love of Christ.

"*Q.* Do you think your prayers will take you to heaven.

"*A.* No, no.

"*Q.* But do not you expect to go there, because you are not so wicked as before, but are become a member of the church?

"*A.* No, me no have one good ting to tink of: nothing but Christ, him precious blood.

"*Q.* Why do you think Christ will receive you?

"*A.* Me love him; me love him to me heart.

"*Q.* But will he be willing?

"*A.* Ah, massa! him no pill him precious blood? him no say, Come unto me? me know him true.

"*Q.* Would you like to meet your christian friends again on earth?

"*A.* Me would like to tell all me broders and sisters to love Christ more, to keep nearer to God. Me feel de more prayer, de nearer me keep to God, de happier me be.

"Again, a few days before his death—

"*Q.* Well, friend, you appear very low?

"*A.* Yes, massa; but de Lord is very good.

"*Q.* Do you feel much fear of death?

"*A.* No, massa; Jesus promise to be wid me.

"*Q.* Where do you think you will go when you die?

"*A.* I tink I shall go home.

"*Q.* But where is the home you mean?

"*A.* Where Jesus is.

"*Q.* What do you think of religion now? (At this he brightened up.)

"*A.* Ah, massa, what become of poor neger if him no hear religion! What me tink!—me *feel*, me no able to tell what me *feel*: it good, it make neger happy to die!

"*Q.* Would you wish to recover again?

"*A.* Me too weak.

"*Q.* Well, but if God were to give you your own will, how would you act?

"*A.* Why (he hesitated, and replied)—no, no, my will no do; me no want my will: God's will is best."

Mr. Burchell adds the brief but comprehensive testimony, "He lived consistently, and died happily."

In April, 1828, a society was formed in Kingston, called the "Jamaica Baptist Missionary Association;" the object of which was to aid the parent Society by extending the sphere of its usefulness, to promote the spirituality and influence of the different churches, and to supply the destitute stations. Soon afterwards, Mr. Tinson left the island for America and England, chiefly for the benefit of his health; and Mr. Baylis took charge of the church in Hanover Street. In December of the same year, Mr. Henry C. Taylor, formerly connected with the Church Missionary Society, and employed as their agent, relinquished that connexion, and was

baptized in Spanish Town by Mr. Phillippo; and being received as a missionary by the Society, was ordained at Montego Bay, on April the 17th, 1829, and took charge of the church at Old Harbour. He opened another station at Hayes Savanna, where, in the same year, a church was constituted. During his labours in this field, he witnessed some melancholy instances of persecution. On one occasion, a member of his church, a slave, was convicted of "the crime of preaching," as they termed it; committed for six months' punishment, and ordered to be flogged. The latter part of the sentence was executed very severely, as his back evinced by scars extending from his ears down to his loins; the consequence of which was, that he was disabled for some weeks, and his life was in danger; but he endured all with christian fortitude, while labouring under prison discipline. Vain, however, was the attempt, by chains and scourges, to impede the work of God. Mr. Taylor was cheered by repeated and numerous additions to his churches.

The mission in the north-west part of the island received an additional labourer in Mr. Knibb, whose declining health, combined with other circumstances, rendered it necessary that he should relinquish the school at Kingston. The advantageous conditions on which the premises at Ridgeland were offered to the Society, and a promise from the New England Society of an annual grant of money, induced the missionaries to request Mr. Knibb to take charge of Ridgeland, in connexion with Savanna-la-Mar, a station commenced by Mr. Mann. Proceeding thither, he baptized eighteen persons, and received them into church fellowship,

October 26th, 1829. He continued to superintend these stations till the death of Mr. Mann led to his removal to Falmouth.

The health of Mrs. Coultart having suffered severely, Mr. Coultart removed to Mount Charles, Mr. Burton succeeding to his church at Kingston, and Mr. Baylis to that of Port Maria.

On the 12th of December, Messrs. Samuel Nichols, William W. Cantlow, and John Clarke, with their wives, arrived from England. The former, by direction of the committee, went to Manchioneal; but in the course of two months, at the request of his brother missionaries, he removed to St. Ann's Bay, premises having been purchased there of the general baptists, who were desirous of relinquishing the station. He also took the oversight of another of their stations at Ocho Rios, eight miles from the bay. At the former place he formed a church in August, 1830, of thirteen members; and another at the latter, consisting of thirty. Mr. Cantlow took charge of the church at Crooked Spring, Mr. Tinson resumed his station in Kingston, and Mr. Clarke undertook the school in East Queen Street, and the church at Port Royal.

Mr. Mann was a most indefatigable missionary, under whose care the church at Falmouth exceedingly prospered. He visited many of the estates, and formed two new churches at Rio Bueno and Stewart's Town. He died on Cambridge estate in Trelawney, whither he had gone to preach, February 17th, 1830. He was a plain, honest, uncompromising preacher of the gospel, and of such a frank and generous temper, that he seldom failed to conciliate esteem wherever he went.

He was excellent as an evangelist, delighting to break up the fallow ground; but while thus cheerfully toiling in the moral wilderness, it pleased God who deemed him faithful, putting him into the ministry, to remove him from the scene of his interesting labours, and permit others to gather in the fruits of his exertions.

The church at Falmouth having invited Mr. Knibb to become their pastor, he removed thither, and took charge of the other stations connected with that church, with the same encouraging success that had attended the labours of his predecessor. Mr. Burchell's account is highly interesting. "I called a church meeting," says he, "when between four and five hundred members were present (special prayer-meetings having been previously held). At this meeting I endeavoured to impress on their minds the importance of being influenced by pure motives; and having addressed them in as conscientious a manner as I possibly could, I proposed Mr. Knibb, and requested a show of hands. I never saw such a scene. The whole church to an individual simultaneously rose up and held up both hands, and then burst into tears. My feelings were overcome, and I wept with them. This, I said, is truly the Lord's doing. Such a feeling I never witnessed before. Had you and the committee been present, I think you would have said, the path of providence is clear and plain, and would have said to brother Knibb, 'Go thou, and the Lord go with thee.'" Mr. Francis Gardner, who had recently come to the island, was appointed to Savanna-la-Mar and Ridgeland. Mr. Gardner had been usefully employed for some time in the christian ministry, at Burton Latimer,

in Northamptonshire. He was designated as a missionary on the 12th of October, 1830, sailed on the 30th of the same month, and arrived with Mrs. Gardner at Montego Bay, January 11, 1831.

The churches at Montego Bay and Crooked Spring, under the care of Messrs. Burchell and Cantlow, continued prosperous; several subordinate stations were begun; and the chapel at Montego Bay had been repeatedly enlarged, but still it was scarcely sufficient to accommodate the congregation. A new place of worship had been commenced, under the superintendence of Mr. Cantlow, for the accommodation of the church and congregation at Crooked Spring. But not only in that part of the island did a divine blessing attend the ministry of the word, a proportionate measure of success accompanied the preaching of the gospel in nearly all the other stations.

In June, Mr. Josiah Barlow arrived in the island in a medical capacity, but some time after relinquished it, to take charge of the school in East Queen Street, which Mr. Clarke was about to resign; and to supply Mount Charles or elsewhere. Mr. Flood about this time being about to return to England, on account of declining health, Mr. Barlow took charge of the stations.

In the beginning of the year 1830, Mr. Tinson opened a new station at Yallahs, about nineteen miles from Kingston; and on June the 27th, formed a church of sixty-eight members, thirty of whom were dismissed from Hanover Street church, and thirty-eight baptized on the occasion.

Mr. Burton, who had visited England, to confer with the committee on his future plan of operations,

returned March the 25th, 1831, and shortly after proceeded to Manchioneal, where the society had long wished to send a missionary. He purchased premises, and entered on his missionary labours in St. Thomas in the East, with considerable encouragement, though not without difficulties.

In April this year, (1831,) a meeting was held at Falmouth and Montego Bay, of all the missionaries on the island except one, when, from the accounts given by each missionary, it appeared that the clear increase of members in all the churches, during the preceding year, was nearly two thousand. During the association, two missionaries, Mr. William Whitehorne and Mr. Thomas F. Abbott, were ordained. The former, a native of Jamaica, was educated in the law; but on his conversion, determined to enter the church. With that view, he went to reside with a clergyman in the parish of Portland, and study for the ministry; but while pursuing his theological studies, he became convinced on the subject of believers' baptism by immersion; and on July 4th, 1830, having been baptized by Mr. Flood, at Anotta Bay, was received as a member of the church. Still desirous of being engaged in the ministry, he was ordained at Falmouth, April the 1st, 1831, and took charge of the stations at Rio Bueno and Stewart's Town.

Mr. Abbott, who was ordained at Montego Bay on the 4th of the same month, was formerly a member of the baptist church at Taunton, in Somersetshire. He had been requested by that church, in 1827, to direct his attention to the ministry; and was about to enter the academy at Bristol, when an attack of

illness rendered it advisable for him to suspend all such engagements, and repair, without delay, to a warmer climate. He proceeded to Jamaica in the spring of 1828, and finding the climate favourable to his health, determined to continue, and enter on a commercial engagement, which, in a temporal point of view, proved highly advantageous. Such, however, was the prejudice that existed against missionaries, and so confidently were statements circulated to their disparagement, that many months passed away before he sought any intercourse with them. His prejudices, however, were speedily dispersed on visiting the baptist chapel at Falmouth, and he was received as a member of the church, then under the pastoral care of Mr. Knibb. Some time after, he renounced his lucrative employment to engage in the ministry of the gospel. After his ordination, he proceeded to take charge of the stations at Lucea and Green Island, where he continued to labour with encouraging success till December, 1831. These stations had been commenced by the general baptist missionaries, who had now relinquished their mission in Jamaica, and the building belonging to them at Lucea was rented by Mr. Abbott. But while the mission was thus reinforced by labourers raised on the spot, it was also called to sustain some heavy bereavements in the death of two missionaries, and the departure of several on account of illness.

In April, Mr. Cantlow sailed for England, his medical adviser assuring him that his immediate return was necessary for the preservation of life. Mr. Kingdon, formerly a student at Bristol, who had come to Jamaica for change of climate, in December, 1830,

consented, at the request of the missionaries, to stay and superintend Mr. Cantlow's station till his return; but circumstances, over which he had no control, rendered his departure, also, necessary in about three months. He sailed on the first of August, leaving the church at Crooked Spring under the care of Mr. Knibb.

Mr. John Shoveller, who had been a long time usefully employed as a minister of the gospel in England, and was much respected in the denomination, being desirous of engaging in missionary service, offered himself to the committee, and was sent out to Kingston, to take the church in East Queen Street, about to be vacated by Mr. Coultart, because of enfeebled health. He arrived at Kingston on the 30th of April, and was greatly delighted with his prospects of usefulness. A large addition was soon made to the church of upwards of one hundred and fifty; and he commenced a week evening lecture, in which he endeavoured to render science subservient to religion, with a view of benefitting the more intelligent part of the community. This lecture was well attended; many, who on no other occasion would enter a dissenting chapel, crowded to hear; but before he had matured his plans of usefulness, he was attacked by fever, and on the 12th of December, died, with a calm and holy confidence in his Redeemer.

Mr. Burton, who had gone to reside at Manchioneal, formed a church there of seventy-eight members, most of whom were connected with the churches in Kingston, but unable to attend for religious worship. Soon after, he opened another station at Morant Bay, about thirty miles from Manchioneal, in which vicinity were many

who had been baptized, some of them years before, but were destitute of any regular means of religious instruction. Of these, and others whose lives and experience Mr. Burton approved, he formed a church, consisting of about forty-eight members. In May, Mr. Clarke relinquished the school in East Queen street, which was shortly after taken by Mr. Samuel Whitehorne, and went to reside at Port Royal, that he might give his whole attention to that station, and its subordinates at Port Henderson and Mosquito Point. During this year, Mr. Nichols extended his labours to Brown's Town, a new settlement in the interior, about seventeen miles from St. Ann's Bay. He met with much encouragement; obtained premises; opened them for religious worship; and in June, formed a church of forty-four members,—twenty-four being dismissed from St. Ann's Bay, one from Falmouth, and nineteen baptized at the station.

A new affliction occurred in the death of a promising coadjutor, Mr. John Griffith, who was only permitted to look on the field of labour. He had been a member of the church in Cannon street, Birmingham, where he was designated to missionary service, February the 24th, 1831, sailed May the 20th, arrived at Kingston with Mrs. Griffith, July the 11th, and died at Spanish Town on the 20th, of yellow fever. His widow shortly after returned, with Mr. and Mrs. Phillippo, who were necessitated to leave on account of Mr. Phillippo's state of health.

Mr. Burchell, also, had been compelled to revisit England, partly on account of family affairs. As various representations of an unfriendly character had

been circulated, to the prejudice of some of the missionary stations connected with the Society, he was requested to draw up a detailed statement of the course pursued by him in the management of those under his care. As statements of a similar nature since have been often circulated, a reference to Mr. Burchell's narrative may serve as a general document, to satisfy inquirers and objectors on the subject. When he left Jamaica, there were in full communion with the church at Montego Bay, sixteen hundred persons, in addition to which, there were also about three thousand inquirers, resident in the town, and from one to twenty miles distant. At Montego Bay, there was service only every alternate sabbath, when he was engaged with the people from six o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening, with very little intermission. The other sabbath was employed in attending to the requisite services at Gurney's Mount, Shortwood, or some other place. Prayer meetings, preaching, conversing, and other duties, occupied the week, besides journeys into the interior of twenty and thirty miles. For thirteen successive weeks in the previous year, he states that he journeyed at an average of one hundred and three miles per week in the concerns of the mission; and during ten months, travelled three thousand one hundred miles,—no mean exertions and toils in such a climate, and where there were no public means of conveyance.

"In consequence," says he, "of the number of persons connected with us, scattered over a space of many miles, I adopted the plan of employing approved individuals united to the church, as 'leaders,' or 'active

members,' and divided the people into classes, to be superintended by them. To the members, I give tickets, which are renewed quarterly so long as they conduct themselves becoming the gospel. These tickets are required to be produced, in the chapel, on those sabbaths when the Lord's supper is administered; when myself and the deacons go round and examine them, to see that no individual is present but regular and approved members: the propriety of this plan is evident, as I have frequently detected, by this means, improper characters, who had obtruded themselves at the table.

"To the inquirers, also, I give tickets (these are different from those of the members), at which time their name and residence are inserted in a book kept for that purpose. The leader is required to visit the people under his care as often as may be in his power, to converse with them and inquire respecting them; when he has to give an account of the same to me, and observations are made, in the inquirer's book, of any inquirer concerning whom he may report, whether good or bad. On these occasions, the tickets of the persons who are reported are brought, so as to afford me an opportunity of conversing with the individuals on their application for them, which are then returned or retained, as the nature of the case may require.

"Under this system, therefore, I am enabled to acquire a general and pretty correct knowledge of this large body of people, which could not be the case, but by observing some such method. Indeed, I have no doubt, but that under this system I have a better acquaintance with the character and habits of the

members of this congregation, consisting of above four thousand individuals, than I could of a church of one fourth of that number upon the general plan pursued by ministers in England. The ticket system I consider necessary, also, to prevent designing and evil-disposed persons imposing upon the people.

"If the amount of subscriptions be the ground of objection, I remark, believing pecuniary subscriptions to be a scriptural duty, I have recommended it accordingly, and proposed the sum of tenpence currency (sixpence sterling) per quarter, (only a halfpenny per week,) as an average subscription, believing it to be in the power of most persons to contribute that amount. Still the subscription must be voluntary; and its being withheld or given neither confers a favour or proves a disadvantage to the individual in his connexion with the church. A great number connected with the church do not contribute at all; a considerable number, also, receive quarterly assistance, which is given them when their tickets are renewed, for the same reason as is stated for receiving the subscriptions at that time, namely, to economise time and prevent confusion,—as it must be observed that full two thousand of our congregation reside several miles' distance from the Bay; and these persons, for several months in the year, have only the sabbath when it is possible for them to have any interview with the minister. In addition to the number of those who do not contribute, and those who receive quarterly assistance, there is a great proportion of those left who contribute but one of the proposed subscriptions per annum, others but two, others three, and but few in comparison four,—so that I do not

receive upon an average per annum, above half of the sum recommended.

"When I first heard of the charges preferred, and of the evils and abuses said to exist amongst our people, I made the strictest and most diligent inquiry respecting them; but being unable to discover any such things in the vicinity of the town where I resided, I thought probably they might be found among those of our congregation who resided at more remote distances; and therefore proceeded to form stations in the interior of the island, so as to bring the whole of our people under my more immediate inspection.

"Under these circumstances I rented premises at Gurney's Mount, where a church has been since formed, and I preach to an average congregation of six hundred persons, sixteen miles from the Bay. At the same time I rented other premises at Shortwood, eighteen miles distance from the town, to which place I go as frequently as I have it in my power. Other inland stations have been thought of by others of my brethren, from the same cause; but you must be aware, that with our small number of missionaries it is impossible to do more than we have already undertaken.

"This, however, will prove to you that your missionaries are not indifferent to the charges against them, proceeding from whatever quarter, or whatever motive,—nor lethargic in investigating the truth,—nor indifferent in correcting any evils they may discover to exist,—nor unconcerned to prevent the possibility of their recurrence. The existence of any evils among any of our congregation or members, has occasioned me and others of your missionaries as much sincere

and heartfelt grief, as it has afforded heartfelt joy to our foes; not because it occasioned matter of triumph to our opponents, but because we are aware the smiles and good-will of Him who dwelt in the bush (for which we are most concerned) are not to be found in the congregations of the wicked, nor in the assemblies of the deceitful. It is not impossible but that evils may be found, but I do most solemnly deny any knowledge of them, or acquaintance with them. I am as anxious as the most rigid disciplinarian can be, that the church should be pleasing in the eyes of Him with whom we have to do; nor should I fear the consequences of the most rigid scrutiny, by the most rigid and captious individual, into the actual state and piety of the church under my care. We have had members of Scotch baptist churches who have had intercourse with our members, and communed with them at the table of the Lord, who have expressed themselves delighted with the simplicity and sincerity of their piety. In conversation with them on church discipline, I have been addressed as follows—'You have members in your church as severe in discipline as any I have ever met in any baptist church.'

"For your information and satisfaction I will narrate the method adopted in receiving the candidates for baptism and church membership. You will observe that from the time they are received as inquirers, they come under my notice and care; I converse with them individually and in the class, as frequently as is in my power; and am continually receiving information concerning them from their leaders: so that when they are proposed as candidates, I possess a tolerable

knowledge of them. Still, when one is brought forward, the leader himself is interrogated respecting him; then, if he be an estate slave, inquiry is made of the members who reside on the same property. After that, he is examined by the deacons and other members of the church, and lastly by myself. If the result of this process be satisfactory, his name is inserted as a candidate for baptism in a book kept for that purpose. Members are now appointed to obtain what information they can respecting him, so that before he is baptized he may undergo examination once or twice more as the case may require. The nature of our examination is to ascertain what led the candidate first to think of serious concerns—his views of sin—of himself as a sinner—his danger as a sinner, with respect to futurity—his deserts as a sinner—his views of God—the holiness of God—the justice of God in his hatred and punishment of sin—the love of God in the gift of his Son—his views of his own unworthiness—his inability to effect his own salvation—the way of salvation (on which I dwell)—the person of Christ—the atonement—the love of Christ—the evidence he has that he loves Christ, that he is a new creature—his views of religion, its duties, its holiness, &c.—the effect it has had upon himself—baptism and the Lord's supper, &c.

"If these poor slaves do not possess the knowledge of persons at home, they nevertheless frequently afford far more striking and satisfactory evidence of their genuine conversion, than many of their superiors in knowledge. On this subject I can speak with pleasing confidence. I have visited many on their dying beds—have heard their last conversation—been present

when their spirits have flown, and have rejoiced on beholding the nature, simplicity, power, and purity of the religion of Jesus. I have witnessed the holy lives and consistent conduct of others for years, amidst trials, persecutions, and sufferings. I have listened to the holy and fervent prayers of others, and have wept and blessed God.

"In maintaining the discipline of the church, the greatest care is taken,—indeed, no effort is spared. In addition to the system of leaders, by which most things are brought to light, an annual investigation is made, which occupies a period of at least four months, notwithstanding the number of persons employed; when many hundred miles are travelled by the brethren, for the purpose of ascertaining the real state of the church, and eliciting any evil or abuse that may possibly exist. On these occasions I examine the members in and near the town as minutely as though I was examining them for baptism. The most approved and best informed members are appointed by the church to examine and inquire individually respecting the members, and as minutely as they can concerning the inquirers; after which they report the result, which report is taken and preserved."

Mr. Burchell concludes his statement by requesting the secretary to lay it before the committee; adding, in the spirit which pervades the whole document,—"I have ever felt anxious that they should be thoroughly acquainted with every part of our conduct. If there be any abuse existing, let it be known, and it will be corrected. If there be any thing objectionable in any of our plans, let them be canvassed: your missionaries

do not assume infallibilty; but I am confident there is not, and cannot be an evil arising out of the system adopted by us, but can be corrected. Besides, your missionaries are not so obstinately constituted as to be set against any improvement in any of their modes of operation; nor would they be averse to adopt any other system which may be recommended, if that system be better adapted to promote and extend the cause of the Redeemer, which is the object nearest their heart."

Annexed is a tabular view of the baptist churches, then in the island of Jamaica, showing the additions, deaths, exclusions, &c., with the clear increase, during the previous year, Mr. Taylor's churches only excepted, which includes two years. "*Received*," in the second column of the table, refers not only to members dismissed from one church to another, but also to baptized persons previously unconnected with the mission, admitted to church fellowship on re-examination.

STATE OF THE CHURCHES IN APRIL, 1831.

CHURCHES, IN WHAT PARISH SITUATED.	PASTORS.	Increase. Baptized.	Increase. Received.	Increase. Restored.	Decrease. Died.	Decrease. Dismissed to other Churches.	Decrease. Excluded.	Clear Increase.	Total Number of Members.
East Queen Street, Kingston	Mr. Coultart	114	....	23	73		35	29	2,937
Mount Charles, St. Andrew's		....	....	....	....	....	....	....	319
Hanover Street, Kingston	Mr. Tinson	67	11	10	12	30	7	39	769
Yallahs, St. David's		57	47	....	1		....	103	103
Spanish Town, St. Catherine's	Mr. Phillippo	117	35	10	10	....	16	136	1,036
Montego Bay, St. James's	Mr. Burchell	370	13	5	27	5	11	345	1,572
Gurney's Mount, Hanover		53	3	....	....	....	2	54	125
Falmouth, Trelawney	Mr. Knibb	216	24	1	5	7	14	215	885
Anatto Bay, St. George's	Mr. Flood	86	10	2	12	1	4	81	510
Charles Town, ditto		60	4	....	....	....	....	64	112
Port Maria, St. Mary's	Mr. Baylis	104	10	....	5		3	106	410
Oracabessa, ditto		18	....	....	....	....	....	18	45
Bray Head, ditto		33	3	....	....	....	....	36	36
Old Harbour, St. Dorothy	Mr. Taylor	156	....	....	3	60	....	93	265
Hayes Savanna, Vere		179	3	....	1	....	9	172	257
Crooked Spring, St. James's	Mr. Cantlow	88	5	....	13	1	1	78	723
Port Royal	Mr. Clarke	23	....	9	2	2	7	21	202
St. Ann's Bay, St. Ann's	Mr. Nichols	21	31	....	....	....	....	52	52
Ocho Rios, ditto		15	74	....	....	....	....	89	89
Savanna-la-Mar, Westmoreland	Mr. Gardner	19	....	....	2	....	1	16	83
Ridgeland, ditto		2	....	....	....	....	....	2	22
Rio Bueno, Trelawney	Mr. Whitehorne	63	....	....	1	3	1	58	128
Stewart Town, ditto		80	....	....	3	3	....	74	108
Lucea, Hanover	Mr. Abbott	....	50	....	....	....	....	50	50
		1941	323	60	170	112	111	1931	10,838

CHAPTER III.

EVENTS OF 1831 AND 1832.

In contemplating the overrulings of providence, it is gratifying and instructive to notice the important use that is frequently made of what are commonly termed calamitous events; for however they may be so deemed, as affecting the persons of individuals, or the interests of the church in particular localities, it is indubitable that they have been often made subservient to the highest and happiest results. It might even be shown that disasters have been the means of incalculable good; and that from depression and defeat itself, have arisen ultimate success, so remarkable as to change the whole aspect of ecclesiastical affairs, and influence the destinies of nations. This is indeed consoling, not only as it respects the past, but as calculated to inspire confidence in the divine government for the future. The church is naturally encouraged by prosperity; but surely she need never be dismayed at the darkest appearances, when history and prophecy combine to prove the power, the wisdom, and the protecting love of the supreme Disposer.

These reflections may not be inappropriate, as introductory to a series of events so much calculated to awaken a painful interest as those about to be recorded, and of a kind so different from those which have been mentioned in relating the generally peaceful progress of the gospel.

At the close of the year 1831, an alarming insurrection broke out among the slaves in Jamaica, the blame of which the enemies of religion were not slow in laying to the charge of the missionaries. Their blamelessness, and the malignity of the imputation, will hereafter appear.

SECTION I.

Commencement and early circumstances of the negro insurrection.

On Friday, December the 16th, 1831, Mr. Knibb received the first information that the negroes on Salt Spring estate, near Montego Bay, evinced symptoms of insubordination. He immediately communicated this intelligence, in terms severely censuring it, to Mr. Abbott, at Lucea, by whom the report was discredited; and also to Mr. Whitehorne, of Stewart Town, who, on the following Sabbath, named it to his congregation, earnestly dissuading them from all participation, if such proceedings had really begun.

On Saturday, December the 24th, Stephen James, a slave on Chatham estate, Trelawney, went to Mr. Knibb, at Falmouth, and informed him that the people were saying, "free paper was come out, and they would not work after Christmas." Mr. Knibb, Lewis Williams (a free black), and Thomas Levermore (a free coloured person,) deacons of the Falmouth church, held much conversation with him on the subject. James seemed at first to think the report was correct; but having received assurances to the contrary, he said "he would go home and tell the people that Mr. Knibb had

contradicted the report, and that they must return to their work after the holidays, or else they would be excluded from the church." This he did, and it is believed his statement had the effect of undeceiving the other negroes on the estate, and preventing their revolt. On the 25th, in consequence of this information from the Chatham negro, and the rumours which were afloat, Mr. Knibb called a church meeting at Falmouth. He contradicted the report of the "free paper" having arrived, and exhorted them to return quietly to their work after Christmas, and influence others to do the same, urging on them christian motives to obedience. Mr. Gardner also called the attention of the congregation to this matter, by addressing them on the good fruits which religion required from its professors. His text, Luke xiii. 6, afforded him ample scope; and he applied it as much as possible to the existing circumstances,—urging on the slaves the importance of their bringing forth fruit corresponding with their profession and privileges—insisting especially on the duty of obedience to their masters, and the avoidance of every thing like insubordination. So pointed was his discourse, that Robert Gardner, afterwards colonel of the rebels, expressed to one of the deacons of the church his determination, in consequence of what he heard, to return to his work after Christmas. But he was afterwards prevailed on to change his mind, and take a leading part in the rebellion. When in prison, he said to Mr. Gardner, alluding to this sermon, "Your word melt we, we no hold up our head."

On Monday the 26th, Mr. Blyth, presbyterian

missionary, went to Mr. Knibb, to converse about this apprehended rebellion, which had then become a matter of notoriety and alarm. Mr. Blyth remarked "that there was pressing danger, and that nothing but their united efforts could avert the evil in their district; that the slaves were impressed with the belief that their freedom had been sent from England." He had been endeavouring to undeceive the negroes at Orange Valley, an estate on which he had a number of members, but they refused to credit the account. Mr. Knibb, whom they said they would believe, offered to accompany him to the estate; but Mr. Blyth thinking it would be sufficient to make use of his name, Mr. Knibb proposed to send Lewis Williams, on one of his own horses, with the joint messages of himself and Mr. Blyth, to their people on Orange Valley, and other estates; which was immediately done. In the evening of the same day, Messrs. Knibb, Whitehorne, Gardner, and Abbott, met at Montego Bay, on their way to Salter's Hill, where a new chapel was to be opened on the following morning. The circumstance of several missionaries assembling in the heart of the disturbed district, at this critical time, excited suspicion of their having had some share in the plot; but the simple fact was, that they met in pursuance of a resolution passed nearly three months before, at a quarterly union meeting, held at Falmouth, fixing Tuesday in the Christmas week for the opening of the chapel, being the anniversary of the day on which the foundation stone was laid. This misinterpretation of their motives was not unnatural for men who were breathing hostility against the missionaries, and watching their proceedings with a jealous eye.

Early in the morning of Tuesday the 27th of December, the day appointed at that meeting, the missionaries proceeded to Salter's Hill, eight miles from Montego Bay, to engage in the appointed service; when they diligently availed themselves of the opportunity of conversing with the negroes, to correct their mistaken notion about the "free paper." A large congregation assembled, and Mr. Gardner preached a sermon, in which he introduced some strong and plain remarks, bearing on the reported evil intentions of the slaves, and wholly condemning them; exhorting them to walk worthy of the gospel—appealing to the reciprocal affection existing between them and their absent pastor, and reminding them of the obligations to holiness under which they were laid by their high profession and their hope of eternal happiness. Mr. Knibb being their temporary pastor, and better known to them than the other missionaries present, it was agreed that he should deliver an address; part of which was as follows:—"It is now seven years since I left England to preach the gospel to you; and when I came, I made up my mind to live and die to promote your spiritual welfare. Never did I enter the pulpit with such painful feelings as at present. Till yesterday, I had hoped that God had blessed my poor labours, and the labours of your dear minister now in England for his health, who loves you and prays for you, and who tells me that he hopes soon to return to you. But I am pained to the soul to hear that many of you have agreed not to go to your work after Christmas; and I fear it is too true. I learn that some wicked persons

have persuaded you that the king has made you free. Hear me; I love your souls; I would not tell you a lie for the world. What you have been told is false—false as hell can make it. I entreat you not to believe it, but go to your work as usual. If you have any love to Jesus Christ, to religion, to your ministers, to those kind friends in England who have given money to help you to build this chapel, be not led away by wicked men. You are too ready to listen to and believe what they tell you, instead of coming to your minister, who you know will tell you the truth. God commands you to be obedient to your master; if you do as he commands, you may expect his blessing; but if you do not, he will call you to an account for it at the judgment day. If you refuse to work, and are punished, you will suffer justly; and every friend you have, must and will turn his back upon you."

Much dissatisfaction was manifested by some of the slaves at this address, and many murmurs were heard. This plain contradiction of their error—this sudden dashing of their fond hopes of freedom—overcame their patience, and called forth the bad passions of their nature. They said that "parson Knibb had no business to meddle with the free paper—that the white people had bribed Mr. Blyth to tell lie, and that Mr. Blyth had given Mr. Knibb half the money to keep free paper from them." So angry were they with Mr. Knibb, for this interference to frustrate their intentions, that they declared they would have maltreated him, had he not had so many ministers with him. Having remained at the chapel an hour or two after the service, exhorting

the people to resume their work, the missionaries returned to Montego Bay. On that night the burning of properties commenced.

At Falmouth, the missionaries had frequent opportunities of discountenancing the rebellion, which had now broken out; and there also they experienced no ordinary portion of mental suffering. About the time of their arrival, three slaves from Green Park estate, named Joseph Henry, James Virgo, and Lewis Atherton, members of the Falmouth church, brought down from York two rebels, whom they had captured while attempting to burn Green Park. Henry and Virgo went to Mr. Knibb, and related this circumstance; stating that the magistrates had rewarded them with a doubloon, and given them a pair of handcuffs, with authority to go and do the like again if necessary. They asked him whether they had done right, as they had been taunted for taking up their own colour, by some irreligious negroes, who said they did it for money. Mr. Knibb commended their conduct, and strongly urged them to go on defending their master's property, and capture as many rebels as they could. Prayer-meetings for the divine interposition to restore peace, were held, both at the wesleyan and baptist chapels; and the missionaries exerted all their influence to induce their people to be quiet and attend to their work. Mr. Knibb sent a message by Mr. Waddell, presbyterian missionary, to his people on Carlton estate, under the attorneyship of Robert Cron, Esq., and they saved the property. As opportunities offered, he sent messages also to other properties, and otherwise exerted himself successfully.

This was truly a memorable week. There were together, at Mr. Knibb's house, himself and Mrs. Knibb, Mr. and Mrs. Abbott, Mr. and Mrs. Whitehorne, Mr. S. Whitehorne, from Kingston, and Mr. and Mrs. Nichols,—in all nine; occasionally joined by Mr. and Mrs. Waddell and Mr. Box. The circumstances of the country rendered travelling so dangerous, that they were precluded from separating, though some of the brethren anxiously desired to visit their respective stations. For seven days, this christian party continued unbroken, enjoying the advantages of mutual counsel and sympathy; but was then dissolved by the hand of power. "All was confusion abroad. The families of proprietors, overseers, and others from the country, were hurrying into town for safety; military expresses were hastening in all directions; and repeatedly large bodies of slave-prisoners, of both sexes, taken in rebellion, or suspected of rebellion, passed Mr. Knibb's residence on their way to the guard-house. Perplexing reports were continually brought to the missionaries that they were blamed as the promoters of the mischief; that all the captured negroes were closely questioned whether their minister had not told them they were to be free at Christmas; and especially that a full determination was manifested to implicate Mr. Knibb, as the resident minister. They knew their innocence; but they knew also the probable power of promises or intimidation, to elicit from the unhappy prisoners statements which were untrue. Such reports, therefore, could not fail to induce a lively solicitude respecting the event, especially in the case of Mr. Knibb, whose family of three small children added much to the

weight of his own care, and excited the tenderest concern of his friends. But they remembered there was One who knew the heart, and restrained the wrath of man, and to Him their eyes were directed."*

At length, martial law was proclaimed at Falmouth on Saturday the 31st of December; of which transferance of power from the civil to the military authorities, they naturally apprehended their enemies would take a dangerous advantage. The first intimation of martial law was given them by a soldier, who went into Mr. Knibb's yard, and seized a saddle for the king's service. From this hour they had no certainty for a moment that their own persons might not be required, nominally for the same service, but really to subserve the hostility of their bitterest foes. They betook themselves, therefore, to the word of God and prayer, entreating to be prepared for the unknown result. On the first of January, two public prayer meetings were held in the chapel, to implore the restoration of tranquillity, and the preservation of slaves professing religion, from uniting in the rebellion. During the morning assembly, Mr. Knibb solemnly appealed to the congregation, contradicting the report respecting freedom, and warning and entreating the slaves to continue faithful and diligent. After this service, Mr. Denoon, a non-commissioned officer, with four privates, regularly armed with fixed bayonets, went to Mr. Knibb's house, with orders to conduct the missionaries immediately to the guard-house, to enlist in the militia. Messrs. Nichols and Whitehorne, the only two who had reached

* Narrative by the baptist missionaries.

home, promptly obeyed, and under this escort proceeded to the court-house. This officer behaved with great civility, particularly to Messrs. Knibb and Abbott, whom he afterwards met in the street, and requested to go to the court-house by themselves, while he and his men proceeded on other duty. After waiting in the officers' apartment of the guard-house, evidently to the satisfaction of those gentlemen, an hour and upwards, to see Colonel Cadien,—Major Nelson thanked them for attending so promptly, and merely requested them to show themselves there at eleven o'clock every day, by way of good example to others, till orders might be received from Sir W. Cotton, the commander-in-chief. The next day they went to the court-house at the appointed time; but then the scene was changed. Having again waited a full hour, the colonel told them "they had better join themselves to some company." They were astonished at this suggestion, after what had transpired the day before; especially as no intimation was given of any orders respecting them having been received from the commander-in-chief. However, they did not refuse, but simply remarked "they presumed they were liable to serve, from having been so called upon; but they had always been under the impression that all ministers of the gospel were exempt." Being told they must serve, Mr. Abbott joined the artillery, and Mr. Knibb, the 4th company, under Captain Chrystie. Mr. Whitehorne claimed the rank he had formerly held in the militia, and was desired to send for his captain's commission; and Mr. Nichols, on account of ill health, was granted a passport to St. Ann's Bay. Messrs. Knibb and Abbott, having first been

commended to the divine protection, went on guard at five o'clock that afternoon, as required. The former, however, was allowed to return home, being unwell; but Mr. Abbott spent three hours of the night, from ten till one, in pacing about as a sentry, and the remainder in trying to take rest on a table in the guard-house, vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked.

On Tuesday, the 3rd of January, being deeply impressed with the incompatibility of military service with the ministry of the gospel, they drew up a memorial to his excellency the governor, praying for exemption; and gave it to the colonel, for his inspection, previously to sending it to Spanish Town. While anxiously waiting for his opinion, which was promised that forenoon, Captain Paul Doig, with his drawn sword, attended by two armed blacks, went up to Mr. Knibb, who was on duty at the guard-house, and said, "Take this man into custody—this is all he has got by preaching." Captain Chrystie somewhat more politely required Mr. Abbott to deliver up his sword, and stated that "the colonel had ordered him to put him under arrest!" Both were placed in the ball-room, then used as a barrack, under a sentry. Hearing of their confinement, Mr. Whitehorne went to them, and was himself detained by the sentry, "by orders," as he said. In an hour or two after, Captain Chrystie officially stated, "that the colonel had received such intelligence from Montego Bay, as had induced him to decide on forwarding them to head-quarters, for which purpose a conveyance would be ready in half an hour." They asked permission to see their wives for a few minutes, or to write to them, but were refused.

They were merely allowed to set down on paper a list of articles required in the canoe, and to send a message requesting their wives to proceed to Montego Bay by land. Hastily preparing for their journey, they proceeded to Montego Bay; and as they entered the town, their already agonised feelings met with another severe shock, in witnessing the dead body of a negro, covered with ball-wounds and blood; and they were told that the next day the missionaries would share the same fate. Their pockets having been searched for arms, they were marched through the town of Falmouth to a wharf at some distance, under a military guard of a serjeant and four privates, duly armed, accompanied by a considerable concourse of people, both friends and foes. On their embarking in the canoe, an artillery officer of the militia, mounted on some elevation, waved his hat, and tried to raise a cheer at their departure; but a perfect stillness was preserved. It was nearly noon, the canoe was open, and they were unprotected from the meridian sun. No charge had been alleged against them; the cause of this treatment they knew not, further than the general clamour of their having promoted the rebellion; and this uncertainty of course greatly augmented their sufferings. Having spent seven hours in this open canoe, they reached Montego Bay, where a scene of great horror presented itself. The houses which had so recently adorned the neighbouring hills were now in flames, and the confusion and noise of war prevailed. Two men of war were lying near the town, and guard-boats were plying about; and at a little distance up the land, flashes of musketry were seen, announcing

that the angel of death was abroad. On their landing at night, they were first marched to the court-house, under their armed guard as before; and then to the lodgings of Sir W. Cotton, major-general, exactly opposite the house which their afflicted wives had reached some hours before,—who while they waited in the street before his door, full half an hour, came out to see them, bringing a little brandy and water, as they had taken no food since the morning. The serjeant having delivered his despatch, and received farther orders, marched them back to the court-house; then to the residence of Mr. Custos Barrett, on one of the adjacent hills, about half a mile distant; and finally, to the court-house again. During all this parade, they had to carry about their luggage, and to experience the frequent taunts of persons passing, who saluted them as the infernal baptist parsons. Several times were they detained by the inquiry, "Who goes there?" to which it was replied, "A guard with prisoners from Falmouth." On entering the court-house, the officers and men surrounded them, uttering the most horrible execrations, literally gnashing upon them with their teeth, and glorying in the hope of glutting themselves with their blood, which they declared would be shed on the morrow The missionaries soon discovered that they were considered answerable for the crimes of the slaves; and they were conducted into the presence of Major Coates, the officer of the guard, who told them, "that he had received orders from the custos to put them under guard in that place." They were then handed over to Serjeant Popkin and four privates of the grenadier company, (all whites,) to be

placed in the jury-box, a place elevated eight or ten feet from the floor. Here they were emphatically "a gazing-stock," a candle being placed before them evidently for the purpose of exposing them to public view. In this situation they had to endure the greatest insults and indignities, and to listen to the grossest language. On entering the jury-box, Mr. Knibb, who had been ill for a day or two, asked permission to lie on the floor; to which the serjeant was civilly replying, when Captain Joseph Bowen called out, "Serjeant Popkin, what are you preaching about? leave them to the sentries." He therefore retired, and this encouraged the sentry who sat on Mr. Knibb's right hand, to vociferate with awful oaths, "No, you rascal, if you attempt to move an inch, I'll thrust this bayonet through you, you villain;" and at the same time pointed the bayonet to his breast. This man afterwards said, in a conversation with another guard, "This is the notorious Knibbs, who robs our negroes of their maccaronies; but never mind, I am happy to say he will be hung to-morrow;" he also added, "that he was a ruined man, but he was now compensated for all his losses by the satisfaction he felt at seeing Knibbs brought to the gallows." This individual had previously threatened to stab Mr. Knibb for stumbling as he ascended the steps to the jury-box. He said, "it was a shame to put four men to guard these fellows, they ought to be handcuffed and put with the negroes." Mr. Abbott was feeling a severe pain in his back, heightened above its usual degree by fatigue and anxiety. He mentioned this to Mr. Whitehorne, and wished to shut the window behind

him, when this man, pointing his bayonet at Mr. Abbott, said, "Hold your tongue, you rascal; don't speak to that other prisoner again, or I'll give you the bayonet, and I won't speak to you twice either, you villain." In the presence of such a man, they dared not attempt to refresh themselves with either food or sleep; but rested their heads on a bar which was before them, endeavouring to compose their minds to their situation till the morning.

But between ten and eleven o'clock, a deliverer came to their aid, named Roby, collector of his majesty's customs at that port, an old acquaintance of Mr. Whitehorne, who, on hearing of his imprisonment, hastened at that late hour to his assistance. He made his way into the jury-box, and presenting his hand, offered to do whatever he could to make his situation more comfortable, and to obtain his release; observing, however, that he did not wish to interfere with the course of justice, if the missionaries had been guilty of any crime. The guards attempted to drive him out of the jury-box, saying, "they were prisoners, and had ruined the country;" but on application to the officer on guard, he was allowed free intercourse with them. He kindly undertook to use his exertions for the release of all for the night, and left them for this purpose. After indefatigable exertion, Mr. Roby obtained an order for their release for the night; and at twelve o'clock, conducted them to a grateful asylum at the custom-house. They were afterwards assured by a gentleman who visited the place about two o'clock in the morning, that it had then become

so bad that their lives would certainly have been sacrificed, had they remained there till that hour. Early the next morning, Mr. Roby visited their wives, for the purpose of relieving their anxiety, and of conducting them to their husbands; and at his office, they all had the happiness of meeting once more together. Mr. Roby also presented them with a document which he had procured from Mr. Custos Barrett, releasing them, "on condition that each of them find a security to the amount of £50, that he will not leave the town of Montego Bay, and will be ready to appear when called on; the security to be entered into before any magistrate." Mr. Manderson, a gentleman of property, and magistrate of Montego Bay, and Mr. Roby at once tendered their security for Messrs. Knibb and Whitehorne; and Mr. James Guthrie, collecting constable, bailed Mr. Abbott. Thus, instead of being led forth to an ignominious death, as their enemies had predicted, and they themselves anticipated only the evening before, they found themselves mercifully set at liberty, their God having "enlarged them when they were in distress."

Although he thus befriended them, Mr. Roby was extremely hostile to them as *sectarians*. This he very candidly gave them to understand, representing that his love of justice constrained him to interfere, and that, notwithstanding popular clamour, he should consider them innocent till proved guilty; while he thought they had, though not intentionally, misled the slaves, and done mischief by an injudicious selection of texts,—such as, "Fight the good fight of

faith," and, "If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed!" The reader will know how to appreciate these statements.

On January the 8th, public worship being impracticable, the missionaries assembled the family of the house in which they lodged for devotional exercises, and the reading of a sermon; the whole company consisting of not more than fifteen persons. But this atttempt to keep holy the sabbath day was not to pass without an effort to make it a punishable act. On Tuesday the 10th, Mr. Roby received a message from Major Coates, by a constable, requiring him to produce the missionaries at the court-house. He immediately informed and kindly accompanied them. After waiting some time, Major Coates told them he had received information that Mr. Knibb had been preaching to a large concourse of negroes on Sunday morning, in the house at Jackson Town, and it was not licensed. Mr. Knibb stated that he had not preached—that they had merely held family prayer, at which five or six friends were present, with the servants of the house; and that he had read a printed sermon. Upon this, Mr. Coates at once dropped the subject; but the complaint manifested the animosity that prevailed against these servants of God, who were so closely watched, that for several weeks they did not venture to leave their lodgings, even to take exercise. Near them was a remarkable cave, which, some weeks after their capture, they ventured to visit in open daylight. This little circumstance they were informed excited considerable suspicion, from an idea that there must be rebels in the cave, with whom they were in communication. Though

Mr. Gardner had given bail only "to appear when called for," and was not confined to any spot, yet when he signified his wish to Mr. Custos Barrett to go round by water to Mrs. Gardner, he was told that if he attempted to quit Montego Bay, he should be put under arrest.

On the day when Mr. Knibb and his companions were arrested at Falmouth, Mr. Gardner set out from Savanna-la-Mar, for Montego Bay, in the usual course of his ministry. He was also desirous of seeing Mr. Burchell as soon as possible after his arrival, which had been some days expected. He was not aware of the real state of things, both at Montego Bay and on the road: he knew not, for example, that the chapel had been converted into barracks; nor that the high road between that place and Savanna-la-Mar was occupied by the rebels, in consequence of the militia having abandoned their posts. The account of this journey which had excited suspicion, as given by himself, strikingly illustrates the condition of the country at the time. It was attended with the greatest danger; and on one or two occasions he escaped as by miracle.

About noon on Thursday, January the 12th, Captain Huggup and Serjeant Whitelock rode into the yard of Mr. Gardner's residence, at Savanna-la-Mar, the former to the front door, and the latter to the back; and on seeing him as he passed the hall window, Serjeant Whitelock loudly called out in an authoritative tone, "You are my prisoner, sir!" A few words mollified his behaviour, but his private correspondence was demanded, and Whitelock was to see that he produced it. This being done, it was sealed up by Captain

Huggup and himself. Mr. Gardner was then taken to head-quarters, where he was told that he was apprehended by order of Sir W. Cotton; and after remaining there some time, Serjeant Whitelock intimated he must go to the court-house that night, as he could not go over with him to Montego Bay till the next morning. Mr. Gardner requested Captain Owen, of the *Blossom*, to allow him to return to his own residence for the night, which was acceded to; an officer being sent to stay in the house, and six sailors from the vessel parading about it till the morning, when Whitelock called, and taking Mr. Gardner into his custody, they travelled together to Montego Bay, where he was taken to Major Coates, president of the court-martial. He disclaimed having given the order; and after some hesitation, Mr. Gardner was taken to Mr. Custos Barrett, who intimated that he was doubtless aware of the deposition which the slave Phillip of Mackfield had made against him. Mr. Gardner replied that he knew nothing of the cause of his apprehension. Major Coates then read the affidavit, to the effect that he (Mr. Gardner) had been up into the disturbed districts; that he took him (Phillip) into his chaise, gave him money, and said he had done well. Mr. Gardner then furnished a detailed account of his journey, and contradicted this deposition. Being required to enter into recognizances to appear when called for, Mr. Manderson again generously came forward, and gave bail in the sum of £100; when, on being allowed to depart, he went to his missionary friends at Jackson Town, in the upper part of Montego Bay.

At this juncture, on the 7th of January, Mr. Burchell, who had been absent in England during the previous eight months, arrived in Montego Bay, with Mr. and Mrs. Dendy, in the ship *Garland Grove*. As he had been made eminently useful in the district, he had naturally acquired great influence; on which account, some of the rebel chiefs, it was said, had used his name to further their designs. This report exasperated the sufferers against him, as the supposed author of their misfortunes; and to such a degree, that the missionaries on shore were repeatedly told, that if possible, there was little doubt he would be assassinated.

Before coming to an anchor, an officer from his majesty's frigate *Blanche* went on board, and demanded of Captain Pengelley a list of his passengers. He then required Mr. Burchell to accompany him on board the *Blanche*; simply replying to his inquiries, "It is martial law." Great vigilance was shown to secure him; for Mr. Middlemist, master of the *Blanche*, and a party under his directions, were sent near the shore to prevent his escape. This seizure, however painful, after a tedious voyage, was an evident interposition of providence; because it placed him beyond the reach of a mob, who displayed the most savage eagerness for his destruction. On his arrival at the *Blanche*, his portable desk was tied and sealed up, and he was not permitted to go farther than the mainmast. The following memoranda will illustrate his situation on board:—

"Saturday 7th. The marine on guard walked in my apartment with his bayonet drawn; though I was not informed why I was apprehended, nor indeed that

I was a prisoner. At eight P. M. I retired to rest in a cot that was slung. The marine on guard continued during the whole night pacing to and fro in my room.

"Sunday 8th. The marine on guard still continued, with his bayonet drawn, pacing the apartments I occupied.

"Monday 9th. This morning the marine paced with his bayonet sheathed. Permission was obtained for the visits of Mrs. Burchell; but it must be in the presence of a third person. About ten o'clock, a lieutenant asked me if I wished to walk on deck; after a few remarks, I signified my wish, and was then informed that a guard must accompany me.

"Tuesday 10th. The marine on guard paced the deck during the night, with his bayonet sheathed; did not enter my apartments much; but every half hour, when he struck the bell, came to my cot and looked upon me. An officer on watch came down several times during the night, when the bell was struck; and as far as I could understand, inquired if the prisoner was safe.

"Wednesday 11th. Mrs. Burchell and child were allowed to visit me. The same inquiry at night—'Is the prisoner safe?'

"Thursday 12th. Mrs. Burchell came on board to-day, on conditional promise that 'she would not communicate with the shore.'

"Friday 13th. At ten A. M. Lieut. Lake came and informed me that instructions were received from the governor, that my papers should be sent to the custos, the Hon. Richard Barrett, who was authorised to

examine them. My portable desk was therefore brought up, and in the presence of Lieut. Lake, Mr. Middlemist, and myself, the seals were broken, and every manuscript paper was taken out. Mr. Middlemist at first put aside every thing printed; but Lieut. Lake went to the captain, and returned, saying, that Captain Burnett said, every thing—manuscript, printed publications, or books, must be sent. Consequently, the printed papers before put aside, were now taken, and books, including a New Testament. The whole was wrapped in a paper, tied up and sealed, and then forwarded.

"Monday 16th, and Tuesday 17th, very unwell. To-day (17th), not having had an opportunity of going upon deck since Monday the 9th, I stated to Captain Burnett this afternoon that I was unwell, and was suffering from my confinement, and should therefore be glad to be permitted to go on deck for a few minutes, to have the benefit of the fresh air; which was allowed.

"Wednesday 18th. Captain Burnett said he had received a note from the commodore, stating, that by desire of the custos, I was to be removed on board the *Garland Grove*. I asked if the custos had returned my papers, as he held all my accounts, private as well as public, and I had no memorandums of the same left with me. He replied, they would be returned in due time. During the eleven days I have been thus kept a prisoner on board the *Blanche* frigate, I have received no information of the reason or cause of my apprehension and imprisonment; though, during this period, I have been deprived of all intercourse with any person but Mrs. Burchell and the servants and sentry. I

have been permitted to go on deck but twice, for the benefit of fresh air; and one of those times, under guard of a marine with drawn bayonet. Even during the night, a marine was pacing backward and forward my apartment, and the very cot in which I was lying.

"Friday 20th, on board the *Garland Grove*. Mr. Delisser and Mr. Manderson came on board. I asked Mr. Manderson what was the cause of my apprehension, and if he could inform me what charge there was against me. He replied, that there was no charge at present, and that Mr. Custos Barrett, who was examining my papers, had informed him, that hitherto he had found nothing among them which in the least degree implicated me, nor which one planter could not write to another." On this day and the following, with the permission of Captain Pengelley, Mr. Burchell was visited by some of the missionaries and their wives from the shore. Thirteen days had elapsed from his arrival, before he could enjoy this privilege; and as the granting it on this occasion brought down on the captain a reproof from some in authority, it was not repeated.

In this situation, a prisoner for an unknown cause, Mr. Burchell continued till February 10th, when Captain Pengelley received from Mr. Custos Barrett the following official document:—

"*Montego Bay*, 10*th February*, 1832.

"Sir,—You are hereby authorised to release from detention the person of Mr. Burchell.

Richard Barrett, *Custos*.

"*To Capt. Pengelley, ship Garland Grove.*"

Captain Pengelley and Mr. Roby called on the missionaries on shore, showing the above document, and recommending that Mr. Burchell, being now honourably discharged, should immediately quit the island. He pleaded, that the interests of his employers, as well as his own, had already suffered, and were likely to be further injured by his remaining longer on board. Moreover, the popular feeling against him was so strong, that the friends of the missionaries who had opportunities of mixing with the people, were convinced that his life would be endangered on shore. Captain Shibles, of the American vessel *Robert and Rowland*, stated, that he heard one gentleman say, "that he would not go home till he had got Mr. Burchell's heart's blood!" The same person declared, during the slave courts, that every bill which might be sent before the jury on which he sat, should be brought in a "true bill," if his influence could bring it about. Captain Barnett, of the army, informed Mrs. Renwick, on the 4th of February, "that Mr. Burchell would not be able to land, as he (Captain Barnett) had learned the day before, that the inhabitants would shoot him, if he did." All the missionaries at Montego Bay, therefore, concurred in the opinion, that Mr. Burchell should proceed to America; and that, by doing it openly and publicly, after Mr. Barrett's declaration, there would be no compromise of character. While this was negociating, through Captain Pengelley, about two o'clock on the 11th, a boat came alongside the *Garland Grove*, with Mr. Sidney Levien, the head constable, accompanied by two subordinate constables, who stated that he came from the civil authorities, to

take him before them at the police-office; producing a warrant signed by Mr. Joseph Bowen, justice of peace, for the apprehension of Messrs. Burchell and Gardner, on the following charge, contained in the affidavit of Samuel Stennett, a free person of colour, which was recited in the warrant, viz., "That Mr. Burchell had said to him (Stennett) and other leaders of the baptist society, to go among the negroes in the country, and tell them that freedom was theirs; and that they, the negroes, must fight and pray for it, and they will get it.. And further, that he had heard parson Gardner say the same." Mr. Burchell writes, "I stated to Mr. Levien the plot against my life, and requested him to tarry till Captain Pengelley returned, as he was then expected every minute; he replied, 'he could not do that, and as he came by order of the civil authorities, I had no reason to fear.' On urging my request, he stated, 'The fact is, Mr. Burchell, this would not have been done, if they had not heard you were going away; you have no need to be under any alarm.' Mr. Levien allowed me to change one or two articles of clothing, when he said 'he could remain no longer, and I must go.' Mr. Whitehorne accompanied me in the boat."

The parting from his family and friends on board, was deeply affecting; as they could entertain no other expectation than that he would be murdered as soon as he reached the shore. "My heart was so full," says Mr. Dendy, "that I could not open my lips, even to say farewell. Mrs. Burchell was in a mental agony, and I believe not one of us was far from that state of mind. We assisted her into the cabin; when we all fell upon our knees, and called upon the Most High.

I never was at such a prayer-meeting before; the Lord assisted me much in my supplications; while the tears ran profusely down my cheeks upon the floor; Mrs. Burchell frequently responding to my petitions, in the greatest distress of mind. After prayer, I assisted Mrs. Burchell in rising from her knees, for she seemed almost fixed. She said she felt the burden removed, and relief to her troubled mind; but still her feelings were in a state of great excitement, and we could scarcely keep her from fainting. After a short time, she became a little more composed, and expressed her confidence in God. I proposed that the ninety-first psalm should be read; and after that the forty-sixth,—the psalm to which good Martin Luther used to resort when in trouble. From these precious portions of the holy word, we had previously obtained much consolation; and now we found them very, very precious."

Prayer was not unavailing. "On landing," he says, "the most ferocious and savage spirit was manifested by some of what are called the most respectable white inhabitants, that ever could have occurred amongst civilized society. They began to throng around me, hissing, groaning, and gnashing at me with their teeth; some with water in their mouths to spit upon me. Had I never been at Montego Bay before, I must have supposed myself among cannibals, or in the midst of the savage hordes of Siberia, or the uncultivated and uncivilized tribes of central Africa. Some cried out, 'Have his blood;' others, 'Shoot him;' others, 'Hang him.' But as they attempted to approach, several coloured persons surrounded me, and dared them to touch me; and I am fully persuaded, had it

not been for the protection afforded me by the coloured part of the population, natives of Jamaica, I should have been barbarously murdered,—yea, torn limb from limb, by my countrymen,—yea, by enlightened! respectable! christian Britons!!

"On arriving at the police-office, I found, with many other persons, Mr. Joseph Bowen, who signed the warrant, and was one of the men who, I had been informed, had sworn to effect my death; the one who had threatened to Mr. Manderson, the day the chapel was demolished, that the house of any person should come down that protected the missionaries; and one who, though a magistrate, was present at, if not active in pulling down the chapel. Presently afterwards, Mr. John Coates came, the gentleman who had said at the same time to Mr. Manderson, 'that he would not be in the skin of any of those missionaries that night for a trifle;' and who, though also a magistrate, was likewise present at, if not aiding in the demolition of the chapel. These two men presided at the police-office. Mr. Coates read the deposition of Stennett, as contained in the warrant. I said, I have no distinct recollection of such a person as Stennett.' Mr. Coates, pointing to him said, 'There he is.' I looked a first and second time, when I recollected I had seen him; but certainly he was not a member, much less a leader, when I left the island, in May, 1831. Mr. Coates then said, 'Mr. Burchell, as magistrates, we are compelled to commit you,—we can do nothing else; but the governor is expected in one or two hours, when you can write to him; perhaps he will appoint some other steps. All we can do is, to request Mr. Nunes

to make your situation in the jail as comfortable as possible.' He then spoke to Mr. Nunes, and directed the clerk of the peace to draw out the commitment. Mr. Gardner was then called for, but was not yet come; presently, Mr. Manderson came, and said that he had sent for Mr. Gardner, who would be there immediately. Mr. Gardner coming in, the deposition was read to him, and Mr. Coates made similar remarks to him respecting his commitment, when we were both fully committed to take our trial. The commitment being made out, we were both brought to the common jail, by the constables, and a guard of the militia, who humanely kept us from the throng of persons, and from all insult. The guard consisted of coloured persons, to whom we felt ourselves indebted. On arriving at the jail, Mr. Nunes called us up into the house of the jail-keeper, and stated, that as the jail was so full, we might occupy a room in that house; but as we should thereby put the keeper, Mr. Wilson, to much inconvenience, we should be willing of course, to remunerate him. We asked Mr. Nunes if we should be permitted to walk in the yard; he replied, 'he did not know, but would consult the magistrates.'"*

They were soon afterwards informed that on this day, while the grand jury were sitting, a petition to the custos to prevent Mr. Burchell's leaving the island at present, was sent in. It was proposed that the foreman should sign it, on behalf of the rest; but after reading it, Mr. Lewin, Mr. Solomon Marks, Mr. Jump, Mr. John Ball, and Mr. Dewar, refused to do it. The

* This inquiry was afterwards answered in the negative.

foreman, Mr. T. Bernard, Mr. Samuel Delisser, and six others signed it. The custos refused attending to the petition, unless some positive charge criminating Mr. Burchell was made upon oath. Such an affidavit was procured, and its natural consequences followed; but it is plain, as Mr. Levien observed, "that this would not have been done, had they not heard that Mr. Burchell was going to leave the island."

Three days after they were imprisoned, one of the grand jury of the special slave court, visited them, and assured them that on the very next day after their commitment, some of the hostile party stated, in conversation with him, that "they feared they had overshot the mark, as if, on trial, they could not convict Burchell and Gardner, after preventing Burchell from leaving the island, the colony would suffer more than from any other act, as the case of oppression would appear so much the greater;" they therefore proposed to him, "to act with Burchell and Gardner's friends in effecting their escape, particularly Burchell's. He replied, "that he would do no such thing, as he was sure Mr. Burchell and his friends were too honourable to act in such a manner." This gentleman then added to the missionaries, "You must therefore expect that they will make heaven and earth meet to bring evidence to convict you."

In a letter to Mr. Dyer, Mr. Burchell thus pours forth his feelings:—"I can and do most solemnly assure you, that I am as innocent of having any connexion with, or knowledge of, this unhappy insurrection, as an infant child; and do most solemnly assure

you, that neither directly nor indirectly have I been connected with it; still I am committed to gaol, and what kind of trial can I expect from people thus seeking my life, thus thirsting for my blood? O, my dear Sir, pray for me,—pray for us: we need indeed an interest in your prayers, and in the prayers of the christian church in Britain. None know; none can tell our sufferings: they are bitter, bitter! Truly I know what it is to say, 'my tears have been my meat day and night.' We fear not any fair and impartial investigation on trial: we have no cause; for unless evidence such as may be extorted by the threat of the gallows, or by perjury, brought about by the promise of life to those who have deserved death by actual rebellion,—or perjury, by promise of large reward to the unprincipled, be brought against us, our innocence must and will appear as the sun at noon-day." Mr. Gardner writes:—"No means, as far as we can judge, have been left unemployed, to implicate us as the cause of the present rebellion; but I can appeal to that God who has protected me to the present hour, that I am as innocent as my dear little child, which I have never been permitted to see, and do not know that I ever shall; and I believe all my suffering brethren to be as innocent as myself." Nothing now remained but for the missionaries to look forward, (but with what hope!) to their trial at the ensuing assize court.

On the 22nd January, Mr. Roby informed them that Mr. Custos Barrett, whom he had seen, was of opinion that the missionaries would not be able to remain on

the island, and he advised them to take their departure as soon as possible; and he requested him (Mr. Roby) to mention this, intimating that permission would be granted by the proper authorities for the departure of any vessel which might be conveying them away. Mr. Roby concurred in this advice, and enforced it with many arguments. But the missionaries would not entertain it for a moment; for, conscious of their innocence, they were ready to stand the test of any trial, and could not comply with a suggestion calculated to lay them under strong suspicions of guilt; remembering their duty to the Society, and to the destitute churches in the island, which looked up to them for instruction.

SECTION II.

Progress of the Insurrection, from the withdrawment of martial law.

In the beginning of February, martial law was withdrawn, and it was intimated to the missionaries that Dr. Lawson, the younger, was endeavouring to form a mob for the destruction of the baptist chapel at Montego Bay. Mr. Roby, having been informed of it, proceeded to the court-house, where he informed the custos and Dr. Lawson, the elder, of it. The former was incredulous, and said he could do nothing, unless Mr. Roby would make an affidavit that the act was about to be committed. This he could not do; but offered to swear that he had been informed so, and believed it was contemplated. The custos deemed this insufficient to warrant his taking any measures, but spoke of the

civil and military powers as being at hand. Dr. Lawson was offended at the slur cast upon the inhabitants of the town by Mr. Roby, and even termed it a libel.

Within an hour of this interview, the work of destruction began. Mr. Roby again proceeded to the court-house, but both the custos and Dr. Lawson were out of the way. The rioters met with no interruption from civil or military powers, though the heads of both had been forewarned of what was intended; indeed, the principal actors were eleven magistrates and numerous officers in the militia. By two o'clock, that large building was razed to the ground; and the missionaries heard that an attack was meditated on their persons and lodgings. Their friends, Messrs. Lewin, Roby, and Manderson, urged them to remove. One justice of the peace had even said, "he would destroy any person's house who dared to give a night's shelter to any of them." Mr. Manderson, however, took them to his house, and the mob finding they had escaped, retreated. As it was considered dangerous to remain on shore for the night, Mr. Roby offered to go on board some of the vessels in the harbour, and endeavour to obtain protection. In this he found some difficulty; but Captain Trefusis, though he appeared unwilling, said, "if they were in danger, he was bound to afford protection to any of his majesty's subjects." This permission to go on board a king's ship, for the saving of their lives, though apparently less free and cordial than some may conceive due from one of his majesty's subjects to others seeking protection from a band of assassins, they were glad to accept, and accordingly,

about six o'clock, went on board, where they were kindly treated by the officers of the ward-room, who had cots slung for them on the main-deck, and otherwise provided for their necessities; and thus secure, they were led again to admire and adore the delivering providence of God.

Early the next morning, the first lieutenant brought a message from the captain, whom the missionaries had not yet seen, that they must prepare to go on shore, as he could no longer afford them an asylum; but they were permitted to remain till Mr. Roby's arrival, who subsequently communicated with the custos, when they, (the missionaries,) were informed that he had engaged to protect them. It was understood that the feeling on shore had considerably subsided; but much animosity was still expressed towards Mr. Knibb. The captain was therefore requested to let him remain another day; to which he acceded. Messrs. Whitehorne, Abbott, and Gardner returned, without molestation, to their lodgings.

The kindness of Mr. Roby, who was termed "the baptist's friend," had for some time been giving offence to the people of Montego Bay; which on this day displayed itself. An effigy, which had been prepared to represent Mr. Burchell, was suspended on the gallows, in the market-place, with the letters R. † Y. stuck on it.

At this time, the spirits of these missionaries were revived, and their hopes excited of soon returning to the people of their charge, by the receipt of the following official document, releasing Messrs. Burchell, Whitehorne, and Abbott from their bail:—

"*Montego Bay, February* 9, 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Having examined the evidence against the missionaries of the baptist persuasion, in whose behalf you have interested yourself very humanely, I have to inform you, that there is no evidence in my possession that implicates Mr. Abbott and Mr. Whitehorne; and no legal evidence implicating Mr. Burchell. These persons must therefore be discharged from their bail, and

"I am, my dear Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) "RICHARD BARRETT, *Custos.*

"John Manderson, Esq."

Mr. Knibb was left in a state of uncertainty and suspense; but was released five days afterwards, upon the ground stated by the custos,—that "the evidence of Samuel Stennett, Alexander Erskin, Adam, and Paris, against him, produced nothing to support a criminal prosecution."

As several places of worship were now in ruins, and much private property belonging to the missionaries destroyed, stolen, or injured, chiefly by the militia, they addressed a memorial to his excellency the governor, then at Montego Bay; to which a prompt reply was addressed by the secretary, stating that this petition had been anticipated by his excellency, as would appear by the proclamation just promulgated through the island.*

* The following is the proclamation referred to above:—

"Whereas I have received information that several chapels and places of worship, belonging to the sect called baptists,

But so little respect was paid to it, that very soon after it had been posted up, several copies were torn down; and under one in the court-house, was written, "Whoever gives information respecting the above, shall entitle himself to be tarred and feathered." The deplorable enmity that prevailed against the true benefactors of the country, may be still further illustrated by recording the fact, that upon a requisition, the senior magistrate, T. J. Gray, convened a meeting at the court-house, professedly to influence the representatives in the house of assembly to *expel the baptist sect from the island*. The speeches were in accordance with this feeling; and resolutions were passed, expressive of an abhorrence of religion and its propagators.

On the 11th of February, Samuel Stennett, on whose

---

situated in the towns of Falmouth, Montego Bay, Lucea, and Savanna-la-Mar, have been wantonly and illegally destroyed by riotous assemblages of people; and whereas, such proceedings are disgraceful to the colony, subversive of order, and of dangerous example, I do hereby call upon all custodes of parishes, and all magistrates, to seek out and discover the authors of these outrages, that they may be punished according to law. And I also require and enjoin the said custodes and magistrates, to employ the whole force which the constitution has entrusted to them, in protecting property of every description, whether belonging to private persons, or religious societies, in quelling all disorderly meetings, and in bringing to exemplary punishment every disturber of the public peace.

"Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Montego Bay, this thirteenth day of February, in the the second year of his majesty's reign, annoque Domini, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.

"BELMORE."

affidavit Messrs. Burchell and Gardner had been committed, sent for his uncle, Mr. George Scott, a respectable person at Montego Bay, and declared to him, that he had sworn falsely against the missionaries, and had been bribed to do so. His statement was subsequently committed to writing, in the form of an affidavit, and ran thus:—"That the affidavit made by him against the baptist missionaries, Thomas Burchell and Francis Gardner, which led to their confinement in jail, was false and unjust; that he never heard from them such things as he had sworn against them; that he was instigated to do so by Messrs. George Delisser, George M'F. Lawson, jun., Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris, the former of whom assured him he would be well looked upon by the gentlemen of this place; that the country would give him £10 per annum, and that he, George Delisser, would make it £50. That he is induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knows nothing against the said missionaries; and that he never joined the baptist society, as a member, till after Mr. Burchell had left the country." This was read to him in the peace office, in the presence of Messrs. George Delisser, Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris, three of the parties he had accused, and some other magistrates. He was then asked if he would swear to it; to which he answered, he was ready to swear to it immediately. And though he was abused and threatened, he could not be shaken from his purpose, but persisted that his present recantation, and not the former affidavit, expressed the real truth. To the very faces of the persons who had persuaded and bribed him, he boldly said, "You know you did, and

you cannot deny it; and you, Mr. Delisser, Mr. Morris, and Mr. Bowen, were the first who spoke to me about it, and offered me money if I would do it."

On the 25th, Messrs. Burchell and Gardner, memorialized the governor to obtain their release from custody, as the person on whose sole testimony they had been committed, had publicly contradicted his own deposition. No relief, however, was afforded, and they had still to submit to the degradation and discomfort of a jail for several weeks.

On the 3rd of March, their legal adviser, Mr. James Forsyth, arrived from Kingston. In him they found not only an intelligent, zealous agent, but a pious, fervent disciple of their common Lord, with whom, even in the transacting of business, they could hold christian communion. He entered upon his work, not as the hired defender of prisoners against prosecutors, but with the conviction that the latter were only the blind agents of Belial, striking at the cause of the Redeemer through his servants, and with the determination to use his utmost ability to overcome the enemy.

On Monday, the 12th of March, the Cornwall assize court commenced; the then chief justice, the honourable George Lowman Tuckett, presiding. His opening charge to the grand inquest was characterized by its impartiality. The list of the prosecutions, and of the witnesses in support, were called over in open court; which was the first intimation received by Mr. Knibb, or his friends, that a prosecution existed against him. The witnesses against him were the same whose evidence Mr. Custos Barrett had declared contained

nothing to support a criminal prosecution, with this difference, that Samuel Stennett was omitted, and the name of Venture, a slave from Lima, was added. Against Mr. Gardner, there appeared four witnesses, in addition to the perjured Stennett; and against Mr. Burchell, the last individual only was mentioned. Still the attorney-general, the honourable Fitzherbert Batty, expressed his determination to send in an indictment against Mr. Burchell on that evidence.

"True bills" were found by the grand jury, as a matter of course, consisting, as it did, almost entirely of white persons, who resided in the disturbed districts, most of whom had suffered more or less by the rebellion, and nearly all of whom had prejudged and condemned the missionaries.

On Wednesday, the 14th of March, the grand jury, very reluctantly, as it appeared from an appeal they made to the judge, were obliged to write "*ignoramus*," on the bill; Mr. Burchell's discharge was ordered; and he hastened from the jail, to the house at which Mrs. Burchell and some more of the friends lodged, to receive their congratulations. But the morrow changed the scene. Reports of an intended assault on Mr. Burchell, induced several friends of colour to guard the house; and about dusk, indications of an attack began to appear. Mr. Lewin and Mr. Roby went in search of a magistrate. The latter succeeded in procuring the attendance of Mr. Ewert, of Montego Bay; while the former, meeting a barrister, Mr. Watkis, went to the chief justice, who immediately hastened to the spot to disperse the mob; but finding his exertions useless, he proceeded to the court-house to

obtain military aid. The local authorities manifested great indifference, and two of them opposed the proposition for a military guard, unless an affidavit was made to show its necessity. This was accordingly prepared; military aid was obtained; and at about ten o'clock, Mr. Burchell was conducted, by the chief justice, Dr. Lawson, and Mr. Heath, to the beach, where he went in a boat to his majesty's ship *Ariadne*, as a refuge from his foes.

The next day, Mr. Burchell, having sent for Mr. Forsyth, an attorney, and Mr. Whitehorne, informed them that he had promised to sail for America that evening. Mr. Whitehorne mentioned to him the grounds on which they, and the brethren on shore, regretted this decision: viz., that if he remained, his enemies, having made an unsuccessful attack, and ascertained the strength of his friends, would be afraid of attempting another assault; while their success in sending him away, would probably excite them to adopt similar measures for procuring the departure of the rest. The captain interrupted these remarks, and repeatedly said, that if Mr. Burchell wished to hear them, he was at full liberty, but it must be on the beach, to which he should be conveyed at a moment's notice, if he desired. Mr. Burchell, however, did not feel himself at liberty to withdraw from his engagement; and leaving the apartment for a few minutes, hastily wrote down the reasons which had induced his decision, and which were those urged by the chief justice: viz., the imminent danger to his life, if he landed; the probable effusion of human blood between the contending parties; and the probable evil bias

which his continuance on the island, and especially on the Bay, might have on the trials of Messrs. Gardner and Knibb, then pending. He wrote some document, expressive of his having done so without constraint; and on Friday morning, March 16th, he left the shores of Jamaica for New York.

Messrs. Samuel James Vaughan, John Chambers, and Thomas Levermore, as a deputation from Mr. Burchell's friends, waited on the chief justice, to thank him for his kind interference to protect Mr. Burchell from the mob, who had agreed to tar and feather him; an indignity, which, according to Jamaica usage, would have terminated in his death. The chief justice expressed honourable sentiments of Mr. Burchell's character, and remarked, it was a fortunate circumstance that he was on the spot, or in all probability the life of Mr. Burchell and of many others would have been sacrificed.

SECTION III.

Proceedings in reference to the trials and acquittal of the missionaries.

Nothing could be more vague and inexplicit than the allegations of the bills found against Mr. Gardner and Mr. Knibb; but they were brought to trial under this and every other possible disadvantage.

The jurors attending at the Montego Bay court, were collected from the several parishes in the county of Cornwall, in which the rebellion had occurred; viz. Trelawney, St. James, Hanover, Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth; in which, consequently, the pas-

sions of the slave-holders in general had been aroused to the highest pitch of violence; and the baptist missionaries were the chief objects against whom that violence was directed. In each of these parishes, the white inhabitants, of whom the juries were principally composed, had already pronounced an emphatic condemnation by destroying the chapels. While the missionaries were in jail, and within a few days of their trial, the inhabitants of Montego Bay, and the parish of St. James, including many of the jurors, had declared, in a public resolution, "That the baptist missionaries had wickedly abused the indulgence granted to them by a liberal and tolerant government, and under the pretence of preaching christianity, engendered discontent in the breasts of our slaves, and roused rebellion, and all the hideous crimes which have marked its course." The grand inquest not only had, in the exercise of its own functions, found "true bills" against two baptist missionaries, and placed them upon trial for their lives; but had further arrogated to themselves the office of petit jury, and on the *ex parte* evidence, before them, had, in a congratulatory address presented to the chief justice, endeavoured to prejudice the case of the accused, by "expressing their conviction that the baptist missionaries had, in a culpable degree, been the cause of the late rebellion." One of the judges, who was expected to preside, and did in fact preside at the trial, was Dr. George M'Farquhar Lawson, the elder, who had already oppressed and condemned them; and they were soon made to understand, that, from the crown officers, no courtesy would be shown to

proscribed baptist missionaries—a determination strictly adhered to subsequently, and evinced by the careful concealment of the intention to prosecute Mr. Knibb, and by the studious withholding of any hint as to the place where the crime was alleged to have been committed. In this crisis, they felt some slight hope of an impartial trial from the independence and integrity of the chief justice and the jurors, whom they trusted might be found among the coloured population; while their great reliance was on the providence and faithfulness of God.

Mr. Gardner was arraigned on the 13th of March, and Mr. Knibb on the following day; the trials being fixed for Monday, the 19th. Great exertions were therefore requisite, in preparing the notices to the witnesses, and having them properly warned. Though a great number of them were at the distance of ten, twenty, thirty, and some nearly forty miles from Montego Bay, in different directions, and though the summoning of most was not effected until Saturday the 17th, yet, on the appointed day, upwards of three hundred witnesses, of different classes, innocent slaves and free coloured persons of respectability assembled to testify in favour of the missionaries.

The trials were deferred till the 23rd, when Mr. Gardner, on the motion of the attorney-general, F. Batty, Esq., was ushered into the "felon's dock," where the chief justice ordered a chair for his accommodation. The whole proceeding was sufficiently ridiculous, but so illustrative of the state of things, that although somewhat long, we cannot refrain from inserting it.

"CHARLES REID, a slave on Unity Hall estate, St. James's, sworn. Examined by the attorney-general. —I am in the habit of attending the baptist chapel in this town. I know the gentleman standing at the bar; I have seen him officiating at the chapel for some time. Parson Burchell was the officiating minister before him.

"*Mr. Panton.* My learned friend, the attorney-general must not enter into evidence relative to any occurrences previous to the 1st of November.

"*Witness.* I attended chapel when parson Burchell was there. Parson Gardner came after him. I attended the chapel down to Christmas. I attended always every other Sunday. I remember two months before Christmas; I attended during that time. I heard parson Gardner, the month before the Christmas month, tell the people, 'that after Christmas, free belong to them.' He said so at the baptist chapel, while preaching in the pulpit. He said so to all the people; the people were slaves. He said, 'the people must sit in their own houses steady,—they must not go to work after Christmas;' and he said to them, 'when the buckra come to them to disturb them, they must know what to say to buckra, and to make buckra come to disturb them.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* Tell us the very words he used, as well as you remember.

"*Witness.* He said, 'we must sit steady in the house, and when buckra come to disturb us, we must know what to say to buckra.' I understood him well what he said; it is the whole of what he said at the time. I never heard him say anything more at any

chapel; I never heard him say so more than once. Whenever I went to chapel, always heard him say so. I never heard him say so at any other time. I am quite sure I have told all that Mr. Gardner said at that time. One man, called George Kerr, was sitting beside me. George Kerr was a leader here. Mr. Gardner said, 'the people must go and take their free, if buckra would not give it them.' I heard this at the same time I heard the other words mentioned before. I know a negro named William Murray; he was not there. I know John Miller; he was not there. I know Phillip Haughton, also; but he was not there. I understood Mr. Gardner well, for he spoke out plain, that all might understand. A great many free people were there. Many young coloured ladies were there. I am quite sure of this; chapel was quite full.

"*Cross-examined by Mr. Panton.* It was the month before Christmas. I do not know the beginning of a month. It was after the morning prayer; I am sure it was not in the evening. I remember no other part of his preaching; I can't tell what the rest of the preaching was about. I can't tell what made me listen to that particular. I was not asleep. The sermon was not long; it was short. I know George Miller, slave to Unity Hall; he was there, I saw him there myself on the same day. There is only one George Miller on the estate, old George Miller. John Miller was not there. Chapel was full; many young persons of colour were there. George Miller and George Kerr, of Unity Hall, were the only slaves of that estate there. I saw many slaves there, but I did not know them. I knew only those two. I did not know any of the coloured

people there. I never saw them before. I never heard their names mentioned. I never heard Mr. Gardner say so at any other time. Mr. Gardner was preaching out of a book. Mr. Gardner was not in the middle of his sermon. I did not hear any other part of the sermon. I did not tell any of the slaves what I had heard, nor any free people. I first told buckra of it; I first told young Lawson, (meaning Dr. George M'F. Lawson, jun.) When I was brought down here, Mr. Lawson carried me into a room down-a-bottom, and I told him there below; no other person was present.

"Here the chief justice pointed to Judge Lawson, and asked witness if this was the gentleman.

"*Witness*. No.

The chief justice then inquired of Mr. Lawson—

"'Have you a son?' 'Yes.'

"'Is he a magistrate?' 'No.'

"*Witness*. I followed this advice (Mr. Gardner's) and sat down. The whole estate's people sat down. I sat down two days, and came back to the estate. All the negroes did the same. I always miss one Sunday's attendance at chapel. I was there two Sundays in the month. I only heard him say so on this one Sunday. I am quite sure I did not go there Christmas day. I am not a member of the baptist church. I only go there.

"*Attorney-general*. Buy a ticket, did you?'

"*Witness*. No, Sir.

"*By the Chief Justice*.—I came to the court-house, not as a prisoner, but as a witness, same time of the

war. I came first to the court-house. I did not walk in of my own accord. I said nothing at Unity Hall to any negroes, to white, or coloured persons. The whole of the estate's negroes came here. I came as a witness, not against Mr. Gardner, but against people who had burnt the estate.

"*By the Attorney-general.*—Service began at ten o'clock in the morning. It was Sunday. Parson went into the pulpit at ten o'clock. He said the words after the psalms were sung. He was not reading out of the book, but talking out of his head. I do not know what a sermon is.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.*—A talk. The real meaning of a sermon is a talk.

"*Witness.*—Old George Miller was there. Mr. Gardner never spoke so to George Kerr alone, but told so to all the people. I never heard him say any thing else to George Kerr. As this was about freedom, I remember it very well. All the negroes sat down. I sat down because all the people sat down. I remembered then what Mr. Gardner said, but I did not tell it to the people.

"*By the Chief Justice.*—Kerr and George Miller were the only persons of the estate who attended chapel. Kerr told all the people not to work."

Several jurors declared after the trial, that the jury decided on entirely rejecting this boy's testimony, on account of its manifest falsehoods.

"William Murray being called as a witness, the chief justice inquired if there were any witnesses to corroborate the facts which the last witness had sworn

to; and, explaining the act, said 'there must be two slaves that speak to the fact clearly and distinctly. I make the remark because the last witness has said that William Murray was not present on the occasion.'

"*Mr. Panton.* I will lend my learned friend a witness, George Miller, who is here in waiting. The first witness has sworn that he was present.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* No, I never borrow.

"*Charles Reid recalled.* I know William Murray. I am quite sure he was not there on that day.

"WILLIAM MURRAY, *slave to Unity Hall estate, sworn, and examined by the attorney-general.* I am in the habit of going to the baptist chapel in this town. I know Mr. Gardner. He is the parson. I went to chapel Christmas Sunday. I had been there before, during that month. I was there two Sundays before Christmas. I had been long enough attending chapel. I had been in the habit of going there a long time before Christmas.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* Do you remember the time that the assembly met?

"His honour the chief justice thought it was not likely.

"Mr. Attorney-general said it was probable that negroes remembered that era.

"*Witness.* I always attend chapel. I cannot recollect whether I went six weeks before Christmas, or not. I do not attend there every Sunday. I miss one Sunday. I go one Sunday, and stop away the next. I always did so.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* This witness is like the last; he attends every other Sunday.

"*His honour the Chief Justice.* The witness Reid expressly said Murray was not there.

"*A Juror.* Did you go to chapel every baptist Sunday?—Yes.

"*Juror.* That is every other Sunday, your honour.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* This witness will depose to the same fact, though on another day.

"*His honour the Chief Justice.* But surely that is another circumstance; and it must be the same fact or circumstance, at the same time, witnessed by two slaves, or by one and a free person. The words of the act are quite clear.

"The learned judge read the act, and inquired if the case could be carried any further?

"Mr. Attorney-general contended that the act to be established against Mr. Gardner, was that of 'endeavouring to excite rebellion;' and that two different expressions used on two different days, and proved by two different witnesses, were only facts of one endeavour, and therefore the evidence adduced met the terms of the act. He was about to read a case tried in England, when his honour the chief justice observed, 'No case tried in England can overturn a positive enactment of the Jamaica legislature, which requires two slaves to corroborate the same fact; but these are not the same. You may as well say that because A sees a man commit a robbery in one lane or street, and B sees him commit another robbery in another street, they can prove the same fact.'

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* But I cannot show the fact on the same day.

"*His honour the Chief Justice.* Then you cannot go on.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* But perhaps I can bring another witness, who will speak to the same fact as Murray.

"*Examination of Murray continued.* I was there on Sunday. On the same Sunday that Reid was there. He and I walked to chapel together.

"*His honour the Chief Justice.* That is impossible; for the other man (Reid) said he (Murray) was not there.

"*Mr. Panton.* Then bring half a dozen other witnesses who were there. I'll lend you them, if you please.

"*Witness.* I was at chapel within two weeks of Christmas. Parson Gardner was there. I was also there on Christmas day. Parson Gardner said, 'when Christmas is over, every person must stop in their house, and let any person come and disturb us; we must wait for them first, before we disturb them.' Parson Gardner said nothing more. I never heard him say any thing at any other time before Christmas. I heard him say these words on Christmas day. I heard nothing about free. Parson said so in the pulpit; and plenty of people were there.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* Was John Miller there?

"*His honour the Chief Justice.* It is no use to ask that question; for he says the chapel was full, and it is not likely he knew who were there.

"*Witness.* George Kerr was there, but him hanged. Old George Miller was there. I do not recollect any body else.

"Mr. Panton again offered to lend George Miller as a witness.

"*Cross-examined by Mr. Watkis.* I am not a member of the chapel. I do not take ticket. I am quite sure this was on Christmas Sunday. I never heard it any other time. Plenty of free people were there. I do not know any of them; church was too full. This is all I remember.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* As I cannot get any further witnesses to corroborate either of these witnesses, I shall give up the case. The prisoner, therefore, must be acquitted.

"*His honour the Chief Justice.* Then, gentlemen of the jury, you will acquit Mr. Gardner."

Mr. Gardner was then released, and proceeded to his lodgings, attended by a concourse of delighted friends.

The case of Mr. Knibb was not brought forward in court, the attorney-general choosing to enter a *nolle prosequi.*

It was a subject of great regret to the missionaries and their friends, that they were prevented from bringing forward their defence; because they were thus deprived of an opportunity of adducing in open court, a mass of evidence, by numerous and respectable witnesses, exonerating them from the crimes laid to their charge, and pointing to the real causes of the insurrection.

Shortly after the trials, Messrs. Knibb, Gardner, Abbott, Whitehorne, and Dendy, with their wives, left Montego Bay by water, in different vessels. The largest party very narrowly escaped shipwreck; but all, through the care of providence, safely arrived in Kingston; when all the missionaries there and in

Spanish Town having assembled, special meetings were held for prayer and praise.

SECTION IV.

Proceedings at Ann's Bay, Buff Bay, and other places.

It has been already mentioned that at the commencement of the disturbances, Colonel Cadien granted Mr. Nichols a passport to return to St. Ann's Bay, his place of abode, on account of indisposition. He found the parish of St. Ann in perfect tranquillity, excepting the turmoil created by the militia; the slaves being everywhere at work as usual. On the sabbath morning, between eight and nine o'clock, a military guard was dispatched to conduct him to the guard-house. He was politely received at the court-house by Lieutenant-colonel Johnston, who had the command, and who told him he was at liberty to send for any thing he pleased from home, to promote his comfort. But being informed by that gentleman that he was not wanted to perform military duty, he was at a loss to conceive for what reason his presence had been required. When the hour of dinner came, he was allowed to go home under a guard of two privates, and to be absent one hour. In the afternoon, an offer was made to release him on bail, if he could obtain two responsible Europeans to become his sureties; and it was added, that if he failed to procure bail, he should nevertheless be allowed to go home to sleep, a guard being placed on his house. On farther consideration, however, the whole proposal was overruled, as it was then deter-

mined that in martial law no bail could be taken; contrary to the decisions in the cases of Messrs. Knibb, Whitehorne, and Abbott, Mr. Gardner, and Mr. Barlow. He was also informed, that though the officers were desirous of showing all leniency, they could not, consistently with their duty, allow him to go home for the night, but he might send for his bed. This was accordingly done, and when he had just retired to rest on the floor, in a room at the back of the main guard-room, one of the officers gave him, not officially, the first intimation he received respecting the cause of his detention. Information had been lodged against him by Colonel S. W. Rose, of the Middlesex regiment of horse. This was one of the two magistrates removed from the commission of the peace by Sir John Keane, for their persecution of Messrs. Whitehouse and Orton, wesleyan missionaries, and restored by the earl of Belmore. The information was to this effect,—"That a woman living at Cardiff Hall, who had lately bought herself free, was told by Mr. Nichols she was a fool for buying her freedom, as she would soon have obtained it for nothing." The next day he continued in confinement, hearing nothing more of the charge, till five or six o'clock; when, soon after he had returned from dinner, guarded as before, and was expecting another night's lodgings in that place, Captain Walker informed him, "that some charges had been brought forward, in which he was concerned; but Colonel Johnston and himself having consulted with Mr. Raffington, the clerk of the peace, they were not clear upon the matter, and therefore they had come to this determination, that if Mr. Nichols would give them his

word of honour that he would hold no nightly meetings, nor leave his house during martial law, and would report himself there every day at twelve o'clock, they would release him." To this he offered no objection, and was accordingly released.

Although, during the existence of martial law, Mr. Nichols held no meetings, suspicions of the contrary were continually indulged, and the most annoying vigilance was exercised. For instance, on one occasion, about eight o'clock in the evening, four men dressed in regimentals walked into the chapel, professing to think, because a lamp was burning, that a meeting must have been held. Mr. Nichols was, in fact, simply retiring to bed, and this lamp was intended to light the family in passing into the residence, which was closely adjoining to the chapel, on the same floor. One of the party then professed to speak to Mrs. Nichols as a friend, to take care what was done, declaring, that if any religious meeting was discovered there, either by night or by day, not a stick of the building should remain, and he himself would be the first to come and set fire to it. Gross insults were offered to Mr. Whitehouse at the wesleyan chapel that same evening.

Having laboured in vain to criminate the missionaries, and procure their expulsion from the island, another scheme was devised by the leading men in this parish. A meeting was called at St. Ann's Bay, on the 26th of January, from which resulted the celebrated compact, entitled, "The Colonial Church Union." In furtherance of the object of this meeting, the following paper was placarded at several places on the Bay, and printed in some of the island journals:—

"INHABITANTS OF JAMAICA!

"Your danger is great. If you have discovered the source of your disease, lose not a moment in expelling the poison from your veins. Rally round your church and kirk, before it is too late, and defend yourselves from all who attack them: the preservation of your wives, your children, your properties, your houses,—nay, of your very lives, demands it. A colonial church union is all you want to unite the friends of the colony in a defence which must then succeed."

About this time, and in conformity with the spirit and object of this union, a circumstance of an amusing nature transpired at the Bay. One of Mr. Nichols's members, a free black, who was serving in the militia, went to him with evident concern, inquiring whether a law which he said had just been passed in the court-house, could stand. Mr. Nichols smiled, and on inquiring into so singular a matter, the man explained as follows,—that about an hour before, several companies of the militia, consisting of whites, coloured, and blacks, were called together in the court-house, when Captain Walker came forward with a paper in his hand, which he read to them, and wished to know if they would all agree to it. This paper contained nothing less than a proposal to send off the island every dissenting preacher, of every colour; but its meaning was expressed in such "high buckra language," that scarcely one of the blacks, and very few of the coloured men, understood it. As soon as this paper was read, and put to the vote, the light infantry men, under Captain Drake, joyfully assented; one or

two coloured men, who understood the matter, declared they never would agree to such a measure; but the majority of the others fell in with it, and consequently the proposal was said to be carried. After this farce, many of the poor men were sadly chagrined, for when they came to understand the affair, they declared they had been altogether deceived; and really thought, that as money was very scarce, and their pay was not forthcoming, the paper had been intended to inquire if they would agree to take out part of their pay in articles of clothing!

Mr. Nichols had for some little time desisted from preaching, on account of his health, but he proposed to resume his labours on the 5th of February, and wrote a letter to Colonel Johnston to acquaint him with that intention. The reply was a peremptory order from the major-general to desist during the existing disturbances. Mr. Nichols yielded, though in fact there were no disturbances in that parish. He frequently overheard vulgar expressions of hatred and evil intention, from persons passing his house, which he disregarded; and repeatedly he was told of malevolent expressions used by several of the militia officers, against the missionaries, which were equally unnoticed; but as soon as news of the destroying of chapels at Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and Brown's Town arrived, the enemies of religion gave sufficient evidence of their outrageous hostility. On Friday, February 10th, Mr. and Mrs. Nichols were just retiring to rest, and a candle was burning in the hall, when they were suddenly alarmed by a violent knocking with some heavy instrument at the front door of the chapel. After a

few blows, the door gave way, when a number of persons rushed up the chapel steps, and at the same moment, some others entered the chapel by another flight of steps at that end of the building appropriated to a residence; and instantly commenced dashing the windows and pews to pieces. Two large sashes in the centre of the chapel, and every other window except one, together with four pews, were entirely demolished, while all the materials and a number of benches, were thrown out at the windows. During these depredations, Mr. and Mrs. Nichols, with their infant child, a female servant, and two other children, had fastened themselves into the bed-room, separated from the chapel only by a thin boarded partition, where they were expecting every instant to be broken in upon and murdered. Mr. Nichols threw up the window, and cried, "murder," when Mr. W. S. Harker, a magistrate residing on the Bay, alarmed at the noise, hastened to the spot, and ordered the depredators, in the king's name, to desist, sending to the main guard-room for assistance. Lieut. Smith, with several of his men, promptly attended; but as they entered by one door, it is supposed the depredators escaped by the other; and thus the building was saved for the present from entire demolition, and the lives of its inmates preserved.

A singular and rather suspicious circumstance attended this outrage; when the guard went to the court-house to quell the disturbance, their muskets were not loaded, nor had they the means of loading them; for Lieutenant Smith told Mr. Nichols, that in the course of that very day, all the ball-cartridge had been taken away from the men on guard.

The next day, Mr. Nichols made oath to the circumstances, and brought three witnesses, who gave evidence against four soldiers; but the magistrates deemed their evidence insufficient to warrant apprehension, and said, they would refer the case to a full bench of magistrates, who were expected to sit in the course of the following week, but nothing ensued. Three days afterwards, the whole building was demolished; and it does not appear that the magistrates ever concerned themselves again about the affair!

"Often have dissenting missionaries been convinced," say they, in their Narrative, "that much of the antipathy existing against them in this country, arose from ignorance of their sentiments and discipline, and of the general question of dissent. A rare specimen of this ignorance was exhibited on this occasion, and that by a person from whom better things were expected. Mr. Nichols was astonished when he heard Mr. Raffington, clerk of the peace and court, clerk of the vestry, solicitor, and town clerk, ask the several witnesses, as they came forward to be sworn, 'What are you? are you a protestant, or are you a baptist?' In very good keeping, one of them replied, with great earnestness, 'No, sir; I always attend the church of England.' He was neither a protestant nor a baptist, but a church-of-England-man!"

All hope of usefulness for the present being at an end, and the personal danger to himself and family apprehended to be very serious, Mr. Nichols determined on quitting the place, to seek refuge in Spanish Town; where they safely arrrived, and met with a cordial reception from Mr. Taylor, at the mission-house.

The next day, Tuesday, February 14th, the mission premises at St. Ann's Bay, together with the wesleyan chapel, were entirely demolished in the forenoon, and the materials stolen. In the afternoon, some of the same party who committed this outrage, proceeded to Ocho Rios, and burned the two chapels there. After these depredations, Messrs. Whitehouse and Wood, wesleyan missionaries, and Mr. Nichols, were hung in effigy, under a shaddock tree, on the baptist chapel ground at the Bay. On the 15th, the rioters and their friends assembled at the Bay, and held a general meeting of the Colonial Church Union, when several resolutions were passed, the sixth of which bound the Union *to support and protect the chapel destroyers!*

While occupying the stations at Anotta Bay and Buff Bay, in the absence of Mr. Flood from the country, Mr. Barlow, though peaceably engaged at his residence, was visited, on the 6th of January, by Lieut. Shenton, and two privates of the Surry regiment of horse. They approached with drawn swords, and the officer told him he came to arrest him in the king's name. He asked on what grounds; when the officer replied, he was not at liberty to inform him. Mr. Barlow accompanied his military attendants; and as they passed through Anotta Bay, he saw one of the members of the church, a slave, who appeared much dejected at seeing his minister under a guard of soldiers. As they were proceeding, Mr. Barlow said to him, in a low voice, "Now, John, do not forget to pray that the Lord may be a wall of fire round about me;" alluding to a passage of Scripture from which he had preached the week before. The lieutenant was very angry at

this remark, and observed, "He knew it was a figurative expression, but in the present excited state of the negroes, Mr. Barlow must be aware it was a very dangerous one." Mr. Barlow replied "that it was a scriptural expression; that he had but a short time before endeavoured to explain it to his hearers; that he was not aware of the negroes in that neighbourhood being in a state of excitement; that the expression was not likely to produce such an effect, because the man to whom it was uttered, who was a truly good man, though a slave, would not misunderstand its meaning." On arriving at Buff Bay, this officer drew his sword, and ordered his men to do the same; and after a little parading to and fro, conducted Mr. Barlow to the main guard-house, and gave him in charge to the officer of the guard; when a chair was brought him, and a sentinel placed on either side. Being soon compelled, by the sickening effect of the noise and smoking of the soldiers, to request the officer to have him removed to a quiet part of the house, he was, after some delay, marched into a filthy room, which seemed to have been just vacated by a company of drunkards, where he was visited by two or three officers. Major Gray told him, "that being the officer in command, he considered it his duty to have him brought thither, in consequence of information he had received, that the doctrines he was in the habit of preaching, tended to excite the negroes to rebellion; especially," said he, "when I hear such a dreadful expression as "a wall of fire:" thus making use of information obtained after Mr. Barlow's arrest, as a principal reason for his being arrested. Mr. Barlow explained; but the major, who

stated that he had known his Bible well from his youth, declared that Mr. Barlow, in employing this phrase, could have had no other intention than "to set the negroes to burn and destroy the whole country, and drive all the inhabitants into the sea." Mr. Barlow was shown into a room rather cleaner and more airy at night, with the promise of a bed, which, however, was not fulfilled.

On the following morning, some of Mr. Barlow's friends sent his breakfast about eight o'clock; but from that time till about five in the evening, no one was allowed access. When he was visited by Major Gray and Lieut. Colonel Moody; the former apologised for his abrupt behaviour the night before, the latter presented Mr. Barlow with a paper for his perusal, stating that it contained the colonel's order respecting him, namely, that all his wants should be attended to; that his servant should have free access to him throughout the day; that any two of his friends should be allowed to visit him at one time, from six in the morning till six in the evening, subject to the observation of the officer on guard; but on no consideration should he be allowed to correspond with any one, or to have the use of pen or paper. But in defiance of the regimental order, his friends were repeatedly denied access to him between the hours specified; and they were sometimes required to leave, under the plea of being about to change the guard. By night, his rest was disturbed by the pacing of a sentinel in his room; and by day, he was exposed to insults from the common soldiers.

At length, at Mr. Barlow's solicitation, the colonel

allowed him half a sheet of paper, stating this was the most he could suffer him to have; when he wrote a letter to protest against the violent proceedings to which he had been subjected, stating, that if they (the colonel and officers assuming to be a court of inquiry) did not, that afternoon, bring him to public trial, he should lay before his excellency the governor and captain-general of the island, the particulars of their dealings, and appeal to him for release.

This letter being handed to them, they took the precaution, as they supposed, of preventing the appeal to the governor, by placing his friend Dr. Prince under arrest, on some frivolous pretence.* In this, they were disappointed; for the Rev. Mr. Hanna, an evangelical clergyman of St. George's, calling to see him, Mr. Barlow informed him of the circumstances of the case, and he readily undertook to make them known to Mr. Tinson, who conveyed the information to the governor in the form of a petition, which was graciously received; and some communication having passed between the governor and major-general Yates, that gentleman ordered Mr. Barlow's discharge. This order was handed to Colonel Jacquet, by Mr. Hanna, on Sunday evening, January 15th; but notwithstanding

* Several of the missionaries were indebted for singularly disinterested acts of kindness, in the exercise of his professional skill, to Dr. Prince, who incurred much worldly disadvantage on account of his religious principles. He was then residing near Anotta Bay, and a member of the baptist church at that place; but afterwards removed to Kingston, and ultimately became the coadjutor of Mr. Clarke in a misson to Africa, as will be hereafter narrated.

this, Mr. Barlow was not released for several days, on the plea of some informality. On further application to the proper authorities, an order from Major-general Cox was issued; but five days elapsed before this could be procured, during which time Mr. Barlow was a prisoner. The real cause of this demur, is disclosed in the following conversation. When Dr. Prince informed Lieutenant Shenton that Mr. Barlow was about to send in a protest to the court of inquiry, against the behaviour of its members towards himself, Mr. Shenton, who used to attend and give counsel in the proceedings of that court, though he had not been elected an examiner, observed, "I should think they won't receive it." "Then," said Dr. Prince, "there will be found a way to make the governor acquainted with the matter, in the form of appeal." "Even then," rejoined Mr. Shenton, "the governor must apply to us for copies of the evidence and proceedings, and some time must be consumed in the correspondence, which will serve our turn, for our object is to keep Barlow a prisoner during martial law." As soon as Mr. Shenton uttered this, Dr. Prince told him he would make use of this confession. Mr. Shenton seemed to betray a sense of having given an advantage, and attempted to nullify it by saying that he spoke in his own name only. This was related by Dr. Prince to the said court, soon after it occurred in the troop guard-room, and was, at his request, entered in the minutes of examination.

It was noticed in Mr. Shenton's hearing, that at the council of war held to consider the expediency of continuing martial law, the governor had borne a

testimony to the inoffensive and guiltless conduct of the missionaries, and had exonerated them from any share in the causes exciting the insurrection; upon which Mr. Shenton remarked, "That is but his (Earl Belmore's) opinion; for my part," continued he, "I think it would be best to take out all the missionaries, placing them in a ring, with the governor in the midst, and so shoot them all together."

At length, on Friday, January the 20th, being the fourteenth day of his confinement, Mr. Barlow was informed that he would be discharged on giving bail to appear when required,—two sureties in £150 each, and himself in £300. This having been done, and the period of its obligation limited to three months, Mr. Barlow was released. Although thus treated, from the suspicion of his being a sower of sedition, during the continuance of martial law, not a single act of insubordination was detected among the slaves in either of the parishes from which his congregations were formed.

Before the proclamation of martial law, Mr. Burton had not heard at his station at Manchioneal, that it was either talked of among the slaves, or expected. At the time the militia were ordered to the several stations in St. Thomas in the East, he was on a journey to Kingston; and after the demand for missionary blood was made, he hurried from Kingston, before finishing his business, to be at home in readiness, in case the military tribunal at Manchioneal might require him. He did not, however, arrive at his house before some of the white gentlemen began to circulate a report that he had concealed himself, or had fled. Though the house in which Mr. Burton

resided, called Belle Castle, which forms the chapel, was not destroyed, it became evident that the same inveterate prejudice existed at Manchioneal as at other places, and the same eagerness to convict and condemn the missionary. In proof of this spirit, let the following facts speak. Early in martial law, Mrs. Brown, at whose house Mr. Burton had been in the habit of preaching occasionally, was sent for by the court-martial. She was a free woman, residing on her own property, six or seven miles from the Bay, and had been confined only five days when she was taken from her house with her infant, and detained a week at Manchioneal. The professed object was to elicit criminating evidence against the missionary. After her dismissal, and while she yet remained at the Bay because of weakness, Mr. Panton, late acting attorney-general, and three other magistrates, went to her house to search it. They said their object was to find the "free paper" which they supposed Mr. Burton might have left. The house door was broken open, and the locks of boxes were forced. The beds were searched, and some barrelled flour was examined, and also a barrel of pork, some of the meat being taken out to see if the "free paper" was between the pieces. Miss Duncan, who resided at the house, was struck in the face by Mr. H. W. Speed, a magistrate, during the examination, because she spoke the truth respecting some of his slaves; and Mrs. Brown's mother was struck repeatedly, and knocked to the ground.

During the existence of martial law, those who were examined respecting the insurrection were often, though not always, asked whether the missionaries had

stimulated them to rebel, especially at the time of inflicting punishment. Three or four who were on guard have declared that when a portion of the appointed flogging had been inflicted upon any one, it was customary to stop, and with threatening to inquire of the sufferer, whether the minister had informed him the slaves were to be free. One of the most respectable of them said that the threatening and the punishment were, in his opinion, quite sufficient to induce many of the slaves to criminate unjustly a father or a mother. As might be expected, some of them did accuse Mr. Burton of having told them in public they were to be free; but they were persons who had never once attended his ministry after he went to Manchioneal.

During the same period, Mr. Panton, with several gentlemen, rode from the Bay to the mission house; and arriving there some time after dark, quietly surrounded the place, and by a circuitous path, Mr. Panton and Mr. M'Williams entered through the only unfrequented door. It was the evening before Christmas, on which the weekly service had been held. The professed object of the visit was to ascertain the nature and exact situation of lights, which the gentlemen said had been seen from the Bay, very near the premises, and which had been answered by similar lights in the mountains. Mr. Panton, after having inquired what number of lights were used in the house, at what time the inmates retired to rest, and in what part of the house the lights were kept, inquired very particularly respecting George Affleck, the head driver of the Haining estate, who a few days before had been shot at the Bay, as a ringleader in the insurrection in

St. Thomas in the East. Mr. Burton informed him that Affleck very generally attended public worship at Belle Castle every other Sabbath, but was not a member of the church; and explained to him that a member was one who had been baptized and who received the Lord's supper, but that Affleck had never attended to either. Yet, particular as Mr. Panton's inquiries were, and as was the information which Mr. Burton communicated to him, the report was afterwards freely circulated that Affleck was a member of the baptist church, and the principal leader! These facts are sufficient to show the *animus* of those gentlemen who were entrusted with such examinations.

Diversified and endless were the annoyances to which the servants of God were at this period subjected. The following circumstance occurred to Mr. Taylor, the then officiating minister of the chapel in Spanish Town, during a sabbath evening service. On closing the prayer before sermon, a white man of notorious character, named Hartshorne, charged him publicly from the gallery, in the most vociferous manner, with having prayed that *the governor might have wisdom!* On the following morning, Mr. Taylor was cited before a bench of magistrates, to answer to the charges contained in three affidavits made by Mr. Hartshorne and two of his associates. Two of there affidavits were rejected as contradictory, and Mr. Taylor was examined on Mr. Hartshorne's only. In addition to his having prayed for the governor, Mr. Taylor was charged with having prayed seditiously, that he had said in his prayer, "You are to be slaves and barbarians no longer; something has been done for you, but not

enough; you must now be free." The peace office was crowded with persons who heard Mr. Taylor on that occasion; two of whom, perfect strangers to him, came forward, and completely refuted the whole, with the exception of the prayer for the governor, which he did offer. These gentlemen declared upon oath that they had often heard Mr. Taylor; that they approved of his preaching; and that on the past sabbath evening he had neither directly nor indirectly said any thing which had a tendency to make an improper impression on the mind of the slave, or which could possibly be supposed to breathe any thing like the spirit of sedition. Indeed, the falsehoods were so glaring in the eyes of the magistrates, that they dismissed the case; Mr. Hartshorne was literally hissed out of the office, and partly through the town, by an indignant multitude; while Mr. Taylor was overwhelmed with congratulations.

SECTION V.

Destruction of the chapels, with other violent proceedings.

The antipathy shown to the missionaries personally, corresponded well with the lawless violence with which guilty hands were laid even upon their property and upon the chapels; thus assuming the character of a war of extermination, undertaken to gratify a blind and worldly prejudice against the rights of man and the religion of the cross.

The first chapel destroyed was a large substantial building recently erected at Salter's Hill, about eight miles from Montego Bay, and only opened for divine worship on the day when the insurrection commenced.

It was set on fire during martial law by a party of the St. James's militia, under the command of Lieutenant F. B. Gibbs, royal navy, on half pay, and Captain George Gordon.

On the 7th February, when the St. Ann's regiment was about to quit Falmouth, Mr. Gayner, a magistrate and ensign, and Adjutant Tucker, commanded the men to break down the chapel occupied by Mr. Knibb, which they had used as barracks during martial law, and themselves set the example. It was completely demolished. The baptistry, in the chapel yard, was previously filled up with filth by the workhouse negroes, who were under the management of the magistrates. A cenotaph, erected in the wall of the vestry, to the memory of Mr. Mann, the former pastor, was torn down and dashed to pieces. On the same day, the chapel at Stewart's Town, Trelawney, occupied by Mr. Whitehorne, was partially pulled down by some persons also connected with the militia; and the next day, the large chapel at Montego Bay, in which from 1500 to 2000 persons had often been instructed by Mr. Burchell, was entirely demolished by a party who went from the court-house at mid-day, headed by Lieutenant-colonel Morris, and soon assisted by a mob. Magistrates and officers of militia were on the spot, and most of them actively engaged in the demolition.*

The same day was signalised by the destruction of

* The persons chiefly concerned were the following:—

Lieut. Colonel William Charles Morris,
Major John Coates, } magistrates,
Capt. George Gordon, }

the chapel at Brown's Town, in St. Ann's, chiefly by the inhabitants.

On the 10th, the chapel at Savanna-la-Mar, occupied by Mr. Gardner, was pulled down by the militia, encouraged and assisted by two of the officers, Lieutenant Samuels, Ensign Reary, and H. Dawson, provost-marshal's deputy.

On the 11th, a chapel supplied by the same missionary, called Ridgeland, or Fuller's Field, about ten miles from Savanna-la-Mar, was burned.

The mission premises, occupied by Mr. Nichols, at

Capt. William Mitchell Kerr, —— John Cleghorn, —— Joseph Bowen, —— Benjamin Haughton Tharpe,	magistrates,

—— William Nettleton Balme,
—— John Tharpe, a magistrate,
—— Edward Evans, coroner,
Lieut. James Gordon, a magistrate,
—— Joseph Fray,
—— William Plummer,
—— Thomas Watson,
—— Charles Wallace Ogle,
—— John Henry Morris,
—— George M'Farquhar Lawson, jun., adjutant,
—— Henry Hunter,
Ensign William Fowle Holt,
—— James Coates,
—— William Gordon,
—— Joseph Gill Jump,

Alexander Campbell, Esq., Copse, Charles O'Connor, Esq., William Heath, Esq.,	magistrates,

Mr. William B. Popkin, head constable.

St. Ann's Bay, were razed to the ground during the morning of the 14th; the materials stolen, and the very foundations partly dug up.*

The chapel at Rio Bueno, occupied by Mr. Whitehorne, was attempted to be pulled down on the night of the 12th, by the grenadier company of the Trelawney regiment, stationed at Bryan Castle estate; but the strength of the building frustrated this attempt for the time. On the following Saturday evening, however, it was burned down. On the 24th, Ebony chapel, just erected at Hayes Savanna, in Vere, and supplied by Mr. Taylor, was destroyed by fire. A day or two before, Mr. Wood, a magistrate, went with a person named Palmer, in the day-time, broke some of the windows, and took away the key; and the following day, six white men went to see what was done, broke down the fence, gave three cheers, and left the place.

Much loss was occasioned to their respective proprietors, by the destruction of houses rented as

* The most active of the depredators, were—

George Radcliffe Stennett, magistrate, surgeon of the St. Ann's eastern regiment, and surgeon of the workhouse,
Lieutenant Henry Cox, jun., on the staff of Major-general Cox, and a magistrate,
Captain Samuel Drake, head constable, town-surveyor, clerk of the market, and supervisor of the workhouse,
Ensign and Adjutant Ralph Cocking,
Seba Shelley, harbour-master,
Captain George Clarke, deputy marshal,
Lieut. and Quarter-master Thomas Taylor,
James Walker, Esq. a magistrate, member of assembly, and captain in the militia, was present, and did not attempt to prevent the demolition.

places of worship. While martial law existed, a house called Putney, in St. James's, the property of Mrs. M'Lenan, rented by Mr. Burchell, was burned by the militia. In the morning of Thursday, February 9th, the chapel at Lucea, occupied by Mr. Abbott, the property of the General Baptist Missionary Society, was pulled down; and among the perpetrators of this outrage were, the Rev. B. H. Heath, the rector, Dr. Binns, who struck the first blow with a hatchet, and Mr. Charles Younger, constable. Mr. Alexander Campbell, of Lucea, a magistrate, was present, and did not attempt to prevent it. Mr. R. Chambers, on the same day, refused to exercise his authority as a magistrate, when Mr. Abbott's dwelling-house was violently entered by Dr. Binns and others, armed with hatchets, &c., for the purpose of destroying his furniture. On this occasion, a respectable female, attempting to protect Mr. Abbott's property, was struck with a horsewhip by Dr. Binns, who threatened to push her down the steps, if she did not go. On the 10th, the outrage referred to before at St. Ann's Bay, was committed. On the 14th, a party of the same mob proceeded to Ocho Rios, another station supplied by Mr. Nichols, and burned the chapel. The fire communicated with an adjoining house, which was also burnt down. On the 19th, the chapel at Green Island, supplied by Mr. Abbott, was burnt down.

On the 6th of April, about ten o'clock at night, a mob of white men, armed with swords, pistols, muskets, and bayonets, went to mount Charles chapel in St. Andrews. In the way from the gate of the premises to the house, they met with a poor old man, a free

negro, unarmed, and fell upon him with their swords, cutting him severely in several places on his head and body, and one of them, with a bayonet, stabbed him in his side. Arriving at the house, they broke open the door, and fired in; some of them broke the windows of the bed-room, forcing in the glass, frames, and shutters, with such violence, that the bed in which Mrs. Baylis, the missionary's wife, and her infant, were lying, was nearly covered with pieces of glass. They then fired in at each of the windows, and one of the ruffians applied a candle to one side of the room for the purpose of setting it on fire; but the candle was extinguished. They proceeded to break the hall window, swearing the house should be down that night. Seeing the candle was out, one of them broke open the door of an out-house, saying he wanted fire, and that he would burn down the house; but the alarm being given, they fled.

Of all those who suffered in respect to their private property, the greatest loser was Mr. Burchell. He had purchased and furnished at his own expense, a residence in the mountains, to afford occasionally a refreshing retreat for himself and family from the sultry temperature of Montego Bay. This house, called Hillington, and situated in Hanover, was burnt down by the militia during the period of martial law. Near this spot, was a house which he rented as a chapel, and preached in, called Shepherd's Hall, or Gurney's Mount. At this place a christian church was formed, and a congregation of several hundred persons usually assembled. It was entered by the militia, and the benches, pews, pulpit, and household furniture, the

latter Mr. Burchell's property, were taken out and burnt. On the day the chapel at Montego Bay was demolished, the rioters found in the chapel yard a chaise belonging to Mr. Cantlow, which they maliciously chopped to pieces, supposing it to have been the property of Mr. Burchell. Mr. Abbott also deeply participated in the damages occasioned by the proceedings at Lucea; and had it not been for the noble exertions of his friends, his losses would have been far more considerable.

Mr. Knibb visited Falmouth early in March. For three successive nights his lodgings were attacked with stones, and he was cautioned by two respectable gentlemen against venturing out in the evening, as a party had clubbed together to tar and feather him. Proceedings of this nature were actually recommended and extolled in the *Cornwall Courier*, a newspaper conducted by Mr. William Dyer, a magistrate.

The following statement will afford an idea of the amount of property destroyed. The sums opposite each place are not what the buildings and land cost, but what would be required, at the lowest rate, to rebuild such places. The sums are in Jamaica currency.

Salter's Hill.—Burnt by order of the captain of militia stationed at Latium	£4000	0	0
Falmouth.—Pulled down by the St. Ann's militia, while occupied as barracks	3000	0	0
Montego Bay.—Pulled down at mid-day by the inhabitants, headed by several magistrates	6000	0	0

Savanna-la-Mar.—Pulled down by the parishoners . . .	700	0	0
Ridgeland, alias *Fuller's Field.*—Burnt by two overseers. A valuable house	1000	0	0
Rio Bueno.—Burnt . . .	1000	0	0
Stewart's Town.—Injured to the amount of	250	0	0
Brown's Town.—Pulled down by the inhabitants . . .	800	0	0
St. Ann's Bay.—Pulled down by the inhabitants of the parish	3500	0	0
Ebony Chapel.—Burnt	500	0	0
Total amount in chapels destroyed	20,750	0	0

LOSS IN THE DESTRUCTION OF MISSION PROPERTY, IN HOUSES RENTED.

Gurney's Mount.—Pulpit, benches, &c.	300	0	0
Putney.—Benches burnt	50	0	0
Lucea.—Benches and lamps .	50	0	0
Ocho Rios.—Pulpit, pews, and benches	100	0	0
	£21,250	0	0

In a memorial to the governor, the losses were stated in round numbers to be about twenty thousand pounds. The foregoing is a correct statement of the loss sustained in the destruction of chapels, pulpits, pews, benches, and lamps. Other losses were suffered to the amount of two thousand pounds.

The chapel at Lucea, belonging to the general baptists, but occupied by our Society, pulled down; offered for sale by the general baptist society for	900	0	0
Losses of property, partly belonging to individual missionaries, and partly to the Society; horses, furniture, clothes, and books	500	0	0

Extra expenses incurred by travelling, by expresses, and in Mr. Knibb's passage to England	600 0 0
	£23,250 0 0

It might be presumed that professors of religion, whether members of churches, slaves, or persons of free condition, would be treated with indignity and cruelty during the fierce persecution that raged. One fact may be recorded as a specimen of the conduct of their oppressors to free people of colour; the sufferings of slaves, on various pretences of insubordination, may be imagined. During martial law, on Saturday, January 7th, as Mr. William Thompson, a person of colour, a member of the church at Rio Bueno, was going on his duty as a pilot at that place, he was informed by a trooper that the officer of the guard wished to speak to him. He went; and in a few minutes his arms were tied behind him with a rope, he was railed at as a preacher, and asked if he was a member of the baptist church. He replied that he was, but no preacher; that he wished he was capable of being one. He was taken to the Long Wharf, and there tied to a negro man. They took his handkerchief and a note from his pocket, inquired if he had any money, and searched him. He suffered much abuse from Mr. Taylor, quarter-master of the St. Ann's militia, then stationed at Rio Bueno; and that day the guard conducted him to the Spring estate, where he was confined in the boiling-house, with both legs and arms tied, and the end of the rope carried up aloft. The next

morning he was sent to Falmouth, where his feet were put in irons among upwards of forty condemned negroes. In this situation he was detained four days; allowed only two slices of bread, with water, per diem; and exposed to the taunts of many who railed on him as a preacher. While in custody, he was closely questioned, "whether he had not heard his ministers say and preach to the negroes, that the king had given them their freedom, and they were to set fire to the estates, and fight for it." He answered, "he had heard the ministers preach contrary to that; namely, that they must be obedient to their earthly master, whom they saw, otherwise they could not be obedient to their heavenly Master, whom they could not see." Colonel Hilton, afterwards major-general, "wished much to have him hung," and told his wife that if he escaped the gallows, he should be sent away to the mad-house, in Kingston, for life; but Mr. W. Frater, member of assembly for Trelawney, pleaded hard on his behalf. Mr. Herring, overseer of Braco estate, made affidavit that he once saw him on that property; but when questioned by Mr. Frater, whether he heard him preaching, he was reduced to the necessity of judging, or thinking, that he did. It is remarkable, that the very informer, Murray, the constable, was never in the chapel in the absence of the minister, and mentioned to Mr. Edward Dickenson, that he had never heard Mr. Thompson preach or pray, but he only *thought* so. As no charge could be substantiated against him, he was released; and by order of Colonel Hilton, his wife was appointed his security, that he would go to no negro house, nor hold any meeting

with any congregation, especially negroes, but only pray as he might think proper with his family and servants. While in confinement, he knew several members of both baptist and methodist societies sentenced to three hundred, four hundred, and even five hundred lashes, for no other fault than their being such members; some of them informed him that their houses had been pulled down, while others were sentenced to the workhouse for life.

Martial law having been withdrawn, and the trials at the Cornwall assize court having been brought to an issue favourable to the cause of religion, the missionaries soon meditated a return to some of the stations from which they had been driven. After much consultation and prayer, it was resolved that an attempt should first be made to resume the work at Montego Bay, as the largest station which had been abandoned, and that which embraced the greatest number of free persons to attend the means of grace. Messrs. Nichols and Abbott were to undertake this service. But it was delayed nearly two months, owing to the continuanee of persecution, kept alive throughout the island by the public press, by the proceedings of the house of assembly, and especially by the operations of the Colonial Church Union, which rapidly gathered strength, and extended its influence. Some of the leading members in nearly all the parishes of the island, set on foot a union of this kind, and passed their respective series of intolerant resolutions, nearly in the same words, to get rid of "sectarian missionaries;" and for this purpose, the unionists determined to discountenance the free people connected

with the missionary societies, or in any way attached to their interests. At a general meeting of the parochial branches of the union held at Falmouth, July 28th, the chairman, Mr. J. L. Hilton, of St. Ann's, set forth the following among the objects and duties of the union;—"To expel the sectarians, and other incendiaries, from the island; to give no employment to any of their proselytes; to hold every man an enemy who fosters or encourages them." And it was resolved,—"Because it is necessary that a stop should be put to the further propagation of the pernicious doctrines of those sectarians, we consider it necessary to withdraw all support and intercourse whatever from any one who may either adopt the destructive principles of the baptists, or other sectarian preachers of this island, or countenance them or their followers in any degree." This resolution, being adopted by magistrates, would naturally possess, in the estimation of many, the force of law. It was even declared, that "the fullest reliance is entertained, that they (the members) will hold the observance of this, and every other obligation of the union, under all circumstances, paramount to every other consideration." Thus indemnified, even by the administrators of the laws, against the penalties merited by acts of injustice, the unionists immediately acted upon this resolution; and consequently, many respectable tradesmen and others, than whom none were more deserving of support, were deprived of employment, refused payment of their lawful debts, and exposed, with their families, to the hazard of poverty and distress.

Sufficient tranquillity having been restored, as it was

supposed, at Montego Bay, for insuring personal safety, Messrs. Nichols and Abbott rented a house of Mrs. Renwick, and had it registered in the bishop's office as a place of worship. The latter arrived at Montego Bay on the 16th of June; and the friends of the cause having been destitute of the ordinances of religion for six months, were desirous of his commencing public worship the next day. Accordingly, he sent word to a few of the free people to that effect. In the morning, the house was filled with people, consisting almost entirely of free persons; and Mr. Abbott was about to commence a prayer-meeting, when Mr. Popkin, the head constable, made his appearance, and inquired for Mrs. Renwick. "The magistrates have sent me to inquire if this is your house." She replied, "Yes." Mr. Popkin said, "The magistrates wish to know if you are aware of the consequences of having an illegal assemblage of persons in your house." She replied, "This house is mine, but is tenanted by Mr. Abbott, who has had it licensed." Mr. Popkin then addressed Mr. Abbott,—"I suppose, sir, you know the consequences of collecting an illegal meeting, and disturbing the public peace." Mr. Abbott replied, "I am far from wishing to disturb the public peace; the persons collected have come to worship God. I propose meeting with them for that purpose, which I have authority for doing, having had the house licensed." Mr. Popkin then left, to communicate this information to the magistrates. In a few minutes he returned, and said the magistrates requested Mr. Abbott would let them see his authority for preaching there. The certificate of registry was then produced, with a request

that it might be returned as soon as they had seen it. In a short time, Mr. Popkin again returned with the certificate, and informed Mr. Abbott that the magistrates said they had nothing to do with the bishop's office, that they considered the meeting an illegal one, and unless it was dispersed, they would issue a warrant for Mr. Abbott's apprehension. Mr. Abbott said he considered the meeting a legal and a peaceable one, and should commence service at the appointed time. Mr. Popkin again withdrew; but returned with orders from the magistrates to wait in the house, and apprehend Mr. Abbott as soon as he began the service. Mr. Abbott then requested the people to go quietly to their homes, and informed Mr. Popkin that he had dispersed the assembly, as the magistrates had thus officially ordered it; but that he should consider it his duty to meet with them for public worship again in a few days, if he had no further communication with the magistrates upon the subject, with whom, however, he was ready to meet, to receive any explanation. In reply, they sent to say that they would meet him the next morning. At the appointed time, Mr. Abbott went to the court-house, and found about twenty of the magistrates assembled, with Thomas Jos. Grey, Esq., senior magistrate, presiding. Much altercation ensued; during which, the magistrates claimed to be the interpreters of the law for themselves, and concurred in in the opinion that "the baptists had done so much mischief in the country, that they ought to be very cautious how they permitted them to return amongst them." One of them, Mr. Watt, thought that Mr. Abbott "should be indicted as a vagrant!"

During the following week, violent attempts were made to compel Mr. Abbott to leave the town. Inflammatory placards were posted up; and even at a public meeting, it was proposed by Mr. Coates, a magistrate, that he should be driven out of the parish. This was resolutely opposed by Mr. S. Manderson, a gentleman of colour, who said, that they could not, and should not, eject Mr. Abbott. On the day of that meeting, a muster of the St. James's militia took place, when a vigorous effort was made, chiefly by Adjutant Lawson, to improve so favourable an opportunity for tarring Mr. Abbott, and drumming him out of the town; but perceiving a powerful combination among the coloured inhabitants for his protection, they desisted from the attempt. In a few days, Mrs. Renwick was taken before the bench, and bound over for the next quarter sessions, to take her trial for having allowed an unlawful assemblage of slaves in her house. At the quarter sessions held on the 30th of October, Mrs. Renwick was brought to trial; and the jury found her guilty, recommending her to the leniency of the court. She was fined £20, in order, as Mr. Coates declared, to deter others from acting as she had done.

Mr. Burton, also, was interrupted at Morant Bay, where he had recommenced his labours, after having voluntarily abstained from them during martial law, and for some weeks after its termination. Mr. Blakely, a magistrate, sent a constable with an order to prevent the preaching, and disperse the people, assigning as his reasons, that Mr. Burton was not a licensed preacher, which was not true; and that the house was not licensed for a place of worship, which was true,—for,

partly because he did not expect the magistrates to interfere in the matter, and partly owing to the uncertainty which then prevailed as to the requirement of the law, he had omitted it. The result was a decision, in the form of a lecture, "that Mr. Burton had opened a place of worship at Morant Bay without any necessity—without anything like an excuse for such conduct. There were the established church and wesleyan chapel, neither of which was more than half filled before he came? his object, therefore, must have been to make proselytes to a sect, and not to make christians. Besides, the sect to which he was attached had recently evinced its mischievous character. One of its ministers had said that the gospel must be preached, though a thousand lives were sacrificed. Now, though such an assertion might do very well at a missionary meeting, the magistrates had no wish to be martyrs in such a cause. It was therefore their duty to be watchful over men avowing such sentiments; and over Mr. Burton in particular, it was their province and obligation to be especially strict, as there had been so much evidence against him laid before the court-martial during the late insurrection, as satisfied them that he was a dangerous person, and not to be trusted. For these reasons, therefore, Mr. Burton was ordered not to preach any more at Morant Bay. This was the decision of the court; and if in any error, there was no objection against being set right by superiors, but it would receive no correction from inferiors." Soon after, the president's reply to the memorial was received, justifying the dispersion of the meeting, and intimating the necessity of a proper registry and certificate to

authorize dissenting service. As the house had been registered at the time, Mr. Burton considered that he had become legally authorized to preach, and therefore proceeded to Morant Bay at the regular time. On his arrival, the constable was sent to him with a warrant for his apprehension, and he was taken before the magistrates. They produced some affidavits, which showed that he had been preaching on the 29th of July; and he was informed, that because of preaching, bail must be given for his appearance at the quarter sessions in October, or he must be committed to prison, which was done; and he remained till the following Wednesday, when bail was offered and accepted for him. Miss Durham, proprietor of the house, was also bound over to answer to any charge that might be preferred against her at the quarter sessions; but when the sessions took place, the proceedings against her were stopped, and Mr. Burton's case was deferred till the ensuing assizes.

On the 18th of September, Mr. Taylor was cited before Messrs. Hannaford, M'Cook, and Robertson, magistrates, and threatened that if he preached any more in the parish of St. Dorothy, until he obtained a license at the quarter sessions, he should be sent to prison. On his pleading the toleration acts of George III., he was told they were guided by the act of William and Mary; and when he expressed his readiness to take the oaths of allegiance, they refused to administer them, saying, that they were not a constituted body, and had not the power. In deference to the authorities, he desisted from preaching. At the October quarter sessions in Spanish Town, he offered

to take the usual oaths, when the sitting magistrates refused his application, as well as another of the same nature, made by a wesleyan missionary.

A similar application was made at the quarter sessions at Montego Bay, October 30th. Three missionaries attended the court for this purpose,—Mr. Murray, wesleyan, and Messrs. Nichols and Abbott; when they were told that the magistrates had made up their minds not to sanction any sectarians whatever, as there was no island law requiring them to do it; and when Mr. Murray was about to refer to the toleration acts, he was interrupted, and assured that they did not acknowledge any English statutes, and Mr. Plummer added, they never would.

On the 4th of June, Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon landed at Savanna-la-Mar, with the view of recommencing missionary work in that town. Having registered a house, he considered himself at liberty to preach; but Dr. Distin, a magistrate, having expressed doubts as to the sufficiency of his certificate, he deferred preaching till he might procure legal advice. The week after, the congregation were alarmed by the information that Mr. Thomas A. Mitchener (one of the chapel destroyers) was collecting a mob to pull down the house; but he was disappointed in the aid he expected. The next day, Mr. Kingdon was required to appear before the magistrates, to answer to a charge preferred against him for having held an illegal meeting of slaves the day before. The bishop's certificate was produced; but he was obliged to find security for his appearance at the ensuing Cornwall assizes, to answer for the breach of a law passed by the island legislature in

43 Geo. III., but which had been several years disallowed by the king! Mr. Kingdon travelled thirty-two miles to Montego Bay, to attend the court; when, after all, the matter was not brought forward.

When the Colonial Union met, a motion was made to expel all sectarian teachers and preachers. In the evening of the same day, a party paraded the streets; and after they had passed and repassed from about seven till nine o'clock, they wheeled round in front of Mr. Kingdon's lodgings, marched up to the house, and commenced battering the door. Some females threw out of the window upon the assailants a quantity of hot water, which providentially extinguished some combustible matter that had been placed underneath, for the purpose of blowing up the house, or at least setting it on fire. On this being done, the Colonial Union men who were outside, fired very frequently into the upper windows, namely those of the hall and study occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon; in the latter of which apartments, they very narrowly escaped being shot. After firing many shots, and being themselves fired upon, the Unionists went off and beat to arms, and having collected a larger force, renewed the attack. Just about this time, Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon escaped from the house, and hid themselves in the negro houses; by which means they providentially escaped being murdered. The work of demolishing the building then commenced. Subsequently, in order to appease the fury of a mob of whites, and prevent them from tearing him to pieces in the court-house, Mr. Kingdon was obliged to promise that he would leave the town and never return to it again. The same night Mr.

Whitelock, a magistrate, who only the day before had publicly pleaded for the expulsion of the sectarians, issued warrants against him and Messrs. John and Aaron Deleon, who, with other friends, had exerted themselves to defend life and property. They were committed to jail the next day, Friday the 10th; and but for the great exertions of the custos, Mr. John Deleon would have been murdered on the way.

Mr. Kingdon and his friends continued in confinement twenty-four days, and after having been closely examined by Mr. Davies, a gentleman from Kingston, deputed to inquire into the affray, they were admitted to bail, September 3rd. Messrs. Kingdon and Aaron and John Deleon were required to find bail for their appearance at the Cornwall assizes in November, each in £500, and the like sum for their securities. The former asked and obtained permission to remain that night in jail for safety. Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon left Savanna-la-Mar on the evening of September 4th, in a canoe, for Black River, where they went on board the schooner *West Indian*, which conveyed them to Kingston.

On the night of their departure, their friends were compelled to hide themselves to escape assassination; and soon afterwards, they were obliged to fly, some into Hanover, others into the morass and woods. The Colonial Unionists committed various atrocities. Persons were frequently insulted in the public streets; night after night, a tarring and feathering party were engaged, and neither respectability, nor age, nor sex, could afford protection; houses were broken into for this purpose, and several aged and respectable persons

compelled to leave their dwellings after dark, and spend the night in the open air, or wherever they could find a shelter. Two instances of suffering endured by members of churches are particularly mentioned by the missionaries as specimens of many others. One of the persons in question stated, that on the night of the attack, August the 8th, when driven from Mr. Kingdon's lodgings, she was obliged to flee to the morass behind the back street of Savanna-la-Mar. While running through and from the yard, shots were fired at her and others, they being pointed out to the rioters. She went from one house to another, secreting herself till the morning. On September, the 4th, the party who had been that day committed to jail, for assaulting Mr. Case, and had been let out in the evening, hunted about for her and others, to tar them: she was forced to hide at Mr. Deleon's sen., for three days. Mr. Deleon, on Friday night, the 7th, told her she must leave his house, as he was unable to protect her against Mr. Mitchener and his party, who were coming to search for her and others. She then went into an out-house; and the rioters afterwards broke into and searched Mr. Deleon's negro houses. The next morning, at four o'clock, she went barefoot through a morass to a distance of three miles, and remained with an old woman about ten days, where she was almost starved, and could have no sleep, as the party were prowling about with the tar bucket. On the 18th, she returned to the Bay, where she had to hide, partly in a grass piece, and partly from house to house. On the 20th, she saw Mr. Medley, one of the rioters, in the back street, who said, "This night, every one of the baptist

houses shall be set on fire; for we'll burn them out." She put all her furniture and apparel into the bushes, and went, between seven and eight, P. M., to hide in a small house near the chapel, where she had been but a few minutes when she heard men running towards the house. Mr. Mitchener violently entered; and, with a fire-stick, searched the very room in which she and another female were concealed; but, providentially, did not find them. The next morning, about five, they both fled back to the country, after a heavy shower of rain, dangerous to health and life. The articles she had placed in the bushes were by this time stolen or destroyed, and she was without either hat or shoes. She remained there about four days, and then again removed to the Bay.

The statement of the other person is as follows:—On the 9th of August, in the evening, she and some of her fellow members had gone to the morass to save their lives, as the rioters said they would take down the house where they lodged. From thence they escaped to a small house, where they remained till they saw a poor man who was said to have engaged in the defence, taken out of the opposite house and tarred, and hearing the rioters would next attack the house in which they were, they escaped to the morass. After returning to the house, they saw five men in disguise search the part of the morass where they had been; after which they saw them search the yard again, and the bushes on the premises, several times that night. The whole of the next day they were obliged to hide; half the night they spent in the morass, and the remaining part in a house kindly opened to them.

For two weeks this person took refuge at different houses by day, and had to disguise herself every night in negro houses. In several instances she was refused admission into houses for refuge, because she was a baptist, so that she was obliged to hide in bushes, having no house to go to, and being without food. She then walked to a place three miles distant from the Bay, where she remained about a fortnight.

The Cornwall assizes, held at Montego Bay, commenced on the 5th November, at which Mr. Kingdon, Messrs. J. and A. Deleon, and other of Mr. Kingdon's friends attended, together with several of the rioters who had likewise been bound over to appear. Bills were first sent before the grand jury against the rioters; all the capital indictments against them were ignored, and but few of those sent in for misdemeanors were found. The attorney-general, who must have been satisfied of Mr. Kingdon's innocence, did not prepare any indictment against him. True bills were found against Mr. John Deleon and Mr. Dolphy, who were accordingly arraigned. Bail was refused, and they were committed at once to the common prison, under harsh and unusual restrictions. In justice to the attorney-general, it must be stated that he pleaded hard for the liberation of those gentlemen on bail, but without effect. The chief justice asked if a precedent could be shown; the case of Mr. Knibb was mentioned, but Mr. Justice Gordon, who sat during the March court, when that case occurred, professed not to remember that Mr. Knibb was admitted to bail under similar circumstances. It is well known that Mr. Knibb was admitted to bail after he had been capitally

indicted and arraigned. It is also well known that the late chief justice, G. L. Tuckett, Esq., at the Surry assizes for April, liberated Mr. Edward Jordon on bail, admitting that case as a precedent.

SECTION VI.

Vindication of the missionaries.

As the world is constituted, the calumniator possesses the greatest advantage over the innocent victim of his calumny. An assertion or an insinuation is the work of a moment, the falsehood of which may require a long train of evidence to disprove. There is a general proneness in the human mind to receive unfavourable representations with eagerness, and to give them a ready credence,—in some cases from jealousy or envy, in others from the innate love of slander,—so that evil reports fly with the rapidity of lightning, but are overtaken by effectual contradiction with incredible slowness. Even in the ordinary affairs of life, the most suspicious evidence is readily admitted, while that which is counteractive, reasonable and satisfactory, is sifted again and again, before the injurious impression is removed. Mankind are often governed by random conclusions and improbabilities; more especially in the estimate of character; and most of all, when antecedent prejudices spring from ignorance, self-interest, and irreligion. Never was this more fully, and we may say, more cruelly illustrated than in the treatment of the missionaries in Jamaica, during the revolt which has been described. There was a depth of hatred manifested which, when the facts are impartially

considered, would seem to have been altogether unaccountable and incredible, did we not take into consideration the depravity of human nature, and the aversion of the carnal mind to truth and godliness, which, even by a little indulgence only, is wont to generate the most rancorous malignity.* Innocence is more naturally the object of dislike than guilt; for it is a reproof to crime, and therefore stirs up all its

* "Every calumny which ingenious malice could invent, and every ridiculous tale which folly could give utterance to, have been for months in circulation, and to this very hour, meet with a ready reception from men whose prejudices and whose credulity alike know no bounds. The public prints have been crammed with the grossest and most blasphemous libels: members of assembly have not scrupled to lend the sanction of their names to accusations which they must have known to be unfounded, and to apply language and epithets to the missionaries, which the legislative assembly of Jamaica *only* would tolerate: militia officers, of every rank, have echoed this coarse abuse: an officer of the British navy has suffered the tide of prejudice to sweep from his mind that sense of truth and justice which is the proudest boast of the service to which he belongs: parochial authorities, custodes, magistrates, and vestrymen, have convened local meetings throughout the country; and after disgorging on the missionaries, all the bile and venom that their excited passions had stirred up within them, have adopted resolutions, in which it would be difficult to say whether intolerance or absurdity most prevails: nay, more—the grand inquest of the county of Cornwall, assembled to investigate the charges against some of these injured and enduring men, and 'bound to administer impartial justice by the solemn obligation of an oath,' have, notwithstanding the triumphant acquittal of the accused, thought proper to declare, 'that the baptist missionaries, have, in a culpable degree, been the cause of the late rebellion!'"—*Christian Record.*

venom. When no reason exists, the feeling of dislike is often the strongest; as it is said in prophecy by the Son of God himself, "They hated me without a cause."

The missionaries were continually prevented from bringing forward evidence in their own favour, abundant and incontrovertible, by the abandonment of the charges, and the failure of inimical proceedings, at the moment when their defence would have been required. Messrs. Gardner and Knibb, for example, were prepared with more than *three hundred witnesses* to substantiate their innocence. In publishing their vindication afterwards, they were obliged to suppress many names and circumstances which would have strengthened their statements, from the conviction that it would involve unprotected individuals in difficulty, danger, and even ruin: "yet," say they, "if in the presence of these difficulties and discouragements, we are enabled, in the first instance, to bring forward a considerable body of evidence, unequivocally tending to disprove the accusations against the baptist missionaries; and if, in so doing, we exhibit besides, certain wicked and shameful means which their enemies employed to obtain evidence, to ensure, if possible, their destruction;—and, secondly, if we prove that causes existed, in which the missionaries were in no way mixed up, abundantly sufficient to originate the opinion, universally acknowledged to have been prevalent among the slaves,—that their freedom had been granted by the British government,—and as universally admitted to have been the immediate cause of the late insurrection,—our object will, we conceive, be sufficiently obtained, at

least in the view of all over whom truth and justice have any influence."*

They arrange the general charges against them into four general accusations, as follow—

"1. That the missionaries are 'tools of the Anti-slavery Society,' and their chief object the advancement of its interest and designs.

"2. That the missionaries have, in various ways, instigated the slaves to commit acts of rebellion, chiefly by inducing them to believe that their freedom had been granted by the British government; 'that they were free;' and that 'free paper' either 'had arrived,' or 'shortly would arrive.'

"3. That the missionaries have instilled into the minds of the slave population, principles dangerous to the safety of the island, while professing to instruct them in the doctrines and duties of christianity; particularly, that 'their preaching and teaching had the effect of producing in the minds of the slaves a belief that they could not serve both a spiritual and a temporal master, thereby occasioning them to resist the lawful authority of their temporal, under the delusion of rendering themselves more acceptable to a spiritual master.'

"4. That the missionaries have 'adopted a system, in which exists a mischievous abuse,'—viz. 'the recognition of gradations of rank among such of the slaves as had become converts to their doctrines, whereby the less ambitious and more peaceable among them were made the dupes of the artful and intelligent, who had

* Christian Record.

been selected by the missionaries to fill the higher offices in their chapels, under the denomination of rulers, elders, leaders, and helpers.'"

To meet the first of these accusations, it was sufficient for them to give a direct and total denial, and demand evidence of its truth, which, however, none of their enemies ever attempted to produce. The others were overthrown by an extensive induction of demonstrative facts embracing the following particulars—

1. Several instances of dying declarations affecting missionaries, shown to have been obtained by wicked means; several alleged confessions, proved never to have been made; and several others clearly refuted.

2. Many instances of endeavours used to extort evidence against them by like wicked means, in which the agents met with failure.

3. The names of thirty-eight estates in the disturbed districts, the negroes on which (a large portion being baptists) proved generally faithful.

4. The names of sixty-nine slaves of the baptist persuasion, eminently distinguished for their fidelity, accompanied with anecdotes of their exertions in taking prisoners, defending estates, &c.

5. The names of twenty-five baptists, out of seventy-four slaves in the county of Cornwall, rewarded by the house of assembly by manumission or otherwise, for their services during the rebellion.

6. Many instances showing the pacific tendency of the instructions, bearing immediate relation to the present subject, delivered by the baptist missionaries to their flocks.

7. Numerous instances of the good effects resulting

from their instructions. Among other testimony here adduced is that of Mr. Custos Miller, Mr. Samuel Moulton Barrett, and Mr. Robert Cron.

8. Numerous instances of endeavours, on the part of the baptist missionaries, to suppress the spirit of insubordination when it began to show itself.

10. Names of thirty-six free persons, not baptists, who, having frequently attended the baptist chapels at the Leeward stations, witness to the peaceable tendency of the preaching there.

10. Notice of the report of the rebellion committee, and a list of fifty faithful leaders attached to two stations in the disturbed districts, brought forward to disprove the charge in it that the leaders caused the rebellion.

11. Extracts from the parochial resolutions and the leading journal, and many instances of the habit of taunting the slaves with freedom, clearly establishing that the slave-owners themselves caused the rebellion.

It will be necessary to subjoin statements by way of illustration, selected from numberless others. They will be quite sufficient without any further wearying details, to furnish affecting specimens of the Jamaica transactions.

The case of ROBERT HALL.—Mr. Richard Brown, an intelligent and respectable freeman of Falmouth, stated, "that he was on guard as sentry when Hall was led out to be shot at Falmouth; saw Mr. Jobson and Mr. Russell present; heard prisoner say that he did not belong to any church, was christened in the church of England; heard Mr. Russell ask him, 'what parson told him he was going to be free;' heard

Robert Hall say, 'he never heard parson say so;' heard Mr. Russell say, 'What, no parson?' 'No.' Heard Mr. Russell say, 'Say parson Knibb, you Sir;' heard prisoner say, 'Massa, I cannot go tell a lie; I never heard it.' Saw the prisoner tied to be shot; heard Mr. Russell say, 'Move away that man,' (meaning him, Brown;) heard the prisoner say, 'Me never hear it from minister myself; but the people that go to pray say we going to be free.' Does not know what other question was put to the prisoner, as he (Brown) was removed."

Mr. Lewis Williams, who remained after Brown's removal, stated, that "when they had bound the prisoner Hall, they went up to him to get him to tell the truth. Prisoner replied, 'he had told the truth already.'"

During the sitting of the Cornwall assize court, in the month of March, Mr. Knibb, at the request of, and accompanied by Major-general the Hon. William Miller, visited the jail at Montego Bay, for the purpose of examining the prisoners confined, there as to the causes of the late rebellion. Edward Hilton, of Mountain Spring, a negro, was one of those prisoners. Major-general Miller put to him and others this question—"Did any white person ever tell you to rebel?" to which they all answered, "No." Mr. Knibb then requested Mr. Miller to put the following to three of them, of whom Hilton was one:—"Did you ever hear it from the baptist ministers,—from Mr. Burchell, Gardner, or Knibb?" and at the same time offered to leave the room, to which Mr. Miller objected. The question was then put as Mr. Knibb desired, Mr.

Miller assuring them, if they told the truth, their lives should be spared; and that their reply was, "We cannot tell a lie upon the ministers; we had rather be hanged. They (the ministers) never did say a word about it, we kept it from them, knowing that they would not approve of it."

The following confession was made by Robert Gardner, (known by the appellation of Colonel Gardner,) while confined in Montego Bay jail:—"I went to chapel on Christmas-day, and heard Mr. Gardner preach. His preaching made me stagger, and think freedom not come, and I made up my mind to work, whatever others did." Unhappily for himself, he was afterwards tempted to depart from this wise resolution.

The means resorted to for the purpose of extorting false evidence were sometimes of the most flagrant kind. The following confession of Samuel Stennett, the witness against Mr. Burchell, was made before John Manderson and T. Raeburn, Esqrs. of Montego Bay:—"*Jamaica,*—Personally appeared before me Samuel Stennett, of the parish of St. James, county of Cornwall, and island aforesaid, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, That the affidavit made by him against the baptist missionaries, T. Burchell and F. Gardner, which led to their confinement in jail, was false and unjust; that he never heard from them such facts as he (the deponent) hath sworn against them. That he was instigated to do so by Messrs. George Delisser, George McFarquhar Lawson, jun., Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris; the former of whom assured him that he would be well looked upon by the

gentlemen of this place, that the country would give him £10 per annum, and that he (George Delisser) would make it £50. This deponent further saith, that he is induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knew nothing against the said missionaries, and that he never joined the baptist society as a member until after Mr. Burchell had left the country. So help me God."

Dr. George W. Towton, of Lucea in Hanover, having taken prisoner a negro man, proceeded thus to interrogate him:—"Did not Mr. Burchell tell you to rebel?" "No, Sir." "Tell me the truth; confess that he told you so, or I'll blow your brains out," clapping a pistol to the man's head. Moved by so pressing an appeal, the prisoner retracted his previous denial of Mr. Burchell's guilt, and made answer, "Hi, for true, massa, me just 'member. Night before him go away, him tell me sinting tan so;" that is, "Yes indeed, I now remember, the night before he went away, he told me something of that sort." Such was this rebel's confession, and such the circumstances under which it was elicited.

To this may be added the following most melancholy and most disgraceful transaction. George Spence, belonging to Fat Quarter, was executed at Lucea early in January, 1832, for rebellion and rebellious conspiracy. He was apprehended on a Friday evening, and the following morning put on his trial before a military tribunal. Much was elicited from the man against himself, in answer to subtle questions proposed by the president of the court, and various attempts

were made to induce the man to say something that would criminate Mr. Burchell. For instance, such questions as these were proposed: "Burchell told you you were to be free at Christmas, didn't he? didn't Burchell say you must fight for free?" In answer to these and other similar questions, the man stated, that he did not know Mr. Burchell, he never saw him; he was not a baptist, he belonged to Mr. Watson's (presbyterian missionary) church. The manifest injustice and partiality of the proceedings on the part of the president, induced an officer present, though not one of the court, to protest against them, but in vain, as he was given to understand he had no right to interfere with the proceedings of the court. The issue of the trial was, though they failed to elicit anything against Mr. Burchell, the man was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot immediately. Whether sentence had been formally pronounced in the hearing of the criminal or not, certain it is, that when led out to execution, he was ignorant of the fate that awaited him. When taken from the court-room, seeing the soldiers drawn up in readiness to conduct him to the closing scene, he inquired of the marshal, with evident surprise and alarm, "Where are you going to take me? what are you going to do with me?" The brutal answer he received to these interrogations was, "You will see presently what is to be done with you." Arrived at the fatal spot, and beholding the awful preparations on the part of the military, he renewed his inquiry, "What are you going to do with me?" He was only answered by the too significant action of the officer commanding the detachment, snatching from his back the short jacket he wore, and

throwing it over his head, tying the sleeves round his neck, so as for ever to exclude from his sight the things of earth. The officer, with his own hands, secured the rope by which the man was tied, and then stepped back, and gave the command to fire. In a few seconds the wretched man lay a mangled corpse on the ground. The whole process of the trial and execution did not occupy three hours.

The case of Miss Emily M'Lennan is highly instructive. She was a free coloured person, who lived at a place called Putney, about twelve miles from Montego Bay. Her statement is as follows:—

"Early in January, I received a message, by my brother, that Mr. Charles O'Connor wished to speak to me. I went to Mr. Robert Watt's house, where Mr. Watt and Mr. O'Connor were together. Mr. O'Connor said, 'I hear that you have letters from Mr. Burchell to go to different properties, particularly Seven Rivers and Hazlelymph.' I asked, 'What were the letters for?—I cannot read.' Mr. Watt said, 'We have good proof that you did receive them: now you must tell the truth; if you don't, there is a boat ready to ship you off. I answered, 'I cannot tell a lie upon myself, or Mr. Burchell; I never did receive any letters.' Mr. Watt said, 'Now, my good woman, I won't send for a constable, but I will carry you myself to the court-house, so you had better tell the truth.' He took me to the court-house, and put me into a room with about a hundred or more negroes in hand-cuffs; and he said to the guard, 'Take charge of this prisoner.' Immediately, Mr. George Delisser took down my name in his book. I remained there from two o'clock that

day till next morning. Mr. Watt came: I asked him, 'What have you put me here for?' He answered, 'Oh, I have nothing to do with you.' Lieut. Colonel Morris came, and sat down by me, and asked, 'Have you not letters from Mr. Burchell?' I said, 'No.' 'Are you not a baptist?' 'Yes.' 'You see the gallows out there. If they were to hang up Mr. Burchell and yourself, how you would holloa, they must let down Mr. Burchell, and hang yourself.' Young Dr. Gordon came, and said, 'You have letters from Mr. Burchell; I know you have them.' Many others came, and asked me the same questions, and said in my hearing, 'her trial will be very hard; it will go very hard with her,' &c. At last, Mr. Manderson came: he asked me if I was a christian; if I had not been to Hazlelymph, to Zincke, one of the members, with a message from Mr. Burchell?' On my denying it, I was discharged by him."

Here we have the testimony of a most respectable witness, to facts which give a clear insight into the manner in which evidence was sought for, and in some instances, though not in this, obtained. Mark the language of intimidation employed;—"There is a boat ready to ship you off;"—"You see the gallows out there;"—"Her trial will be very hard; it will go very hard with her," &c., &c.: then let it be remembered, that these expressions were addressed to a friendless and unprotected female, in the midst of armed men, and who had been compelled to pass the previous night among incendiaries and rebels!

The following facts, to which some reference has been made, are striking:—The whole number of slaves

rewarded by the legislature in the county of Cornwall amounted to seventy-four. The slave population of this district of the island was estimated, in 1831, at 108,424. Thus the proportion which the number of rewarded slaves bears to the population of that part of the country is nearly as one to 1465; of these rewarded slaves, twenty-five were baptists; and the whole number of slaves of that denomination, in Cornwall, did not exceed 14,000. It appears, therefore, that the assembly rewarded one slave out of every 500 baptists, and only one out of 1927 not baptists.

If any further defence of the missionaries were needed than the abortive character of the charges which the malignity of their enemies produced, and the mal-practices to which they resorted, to compel a fraudulent evidence, it might be found in the successful advocacy of the press in England, even of that part of it which is not, and has never been prone to favour sectarians of any class. The language of the *Times* is worthy of preservation. "It is well known," says that journal, "that the sectarian missionaries who have gone forth from this country to preach christianity to the West India negroes, have been for many years objects of extreme jealousy to what is termed 'the West India interest;' and that no instance of insubordination or outrage has ever occurred throughout those colonies since the abolition of the slave-trade, whence prompt occasion was not taken to charge the guilt of it upon the unfortunate missionaries. In Demarara, not many years since, a preacher was tried by court-martial for an alleged participation in, or promotion of the rebellion of the blacks; and if we remember right,

the poor man's life fell a sacrifice to the severity with which he was treated in prison. In the late insurrection of Jamaica, some missionaries were subjected to trial under similar charges; but, notwitstanding the clamour raised against them, and the excitement then prevailing in the island, no misconduct was substantiated against any one of them,—not one conviction could be obtained, however ardently it was wished for, and diligently sought. The bitterness, however, which has been cherished against these sectarians, has been apparently strengthened by the bad success of its undertakings; and the planters composing 'the colonial union of the north-side parishes" of Jamaica, have signalized the impotency of their preceding attempts against the missionaries, by the resolutions to which we have already alluded, and which will be found in this day's paper. It is possible, that some of the baptist missionaries may be men indifferently educated, —some, possibly, not of the highest prudence,—and that on one or two occasions the language employed by them for religious instruction or exhortation, may, as is not unfrequent here in England (aye, and in the established church, moreover), have been ignorantly perverted by their half-taught hearers, to temporal and mischievous meanings. But that does not make men incendiaries or rebels. Rebels and incendiaries may be punished by law. Why have not the missionaries been so punished? It is plain, that if they could have been fairly exposed to any legal penalty, the planters would never, in their desperation, have adopted, as one of their resolutions, a pledge 'to expel the sectarians, and other incendiaries, from the island.' Why the men are

raving mad! What power in the United Kingdom, or in any colony under the crown of Britain, can lawfully expel the meanest human being from its territory, when he has committed no crime acknowledged by the law of England? But what despot, known to Europe or Asia, has, in modern times, so sinned against the human race, as to banish a man because of the peculiar sect of christianity of which he was a member? The grand Turk,—nay, old Ali Pacha himself, the monster of Joannina,—would have spat upon the janissary who proposed it. Expel all sectarians from Jamaica! Try it, gentlemen; but prepare for a trial of strength, the next moment, with the people and reformed parliament of England, and see who will first be 'expelled'—the missionaries or their hateful persecutors.

"The truth must be told. These planters will not suffer their slaves to emerge, by the avenue of knowledge of any description, from the level of the beast, to which a long course of degrading treatment has reduced them. If men be once educated, or even shown the road to education, however imperfect, they will no longer endure the condition of quadrupeds. The Jamaica planters are well aware of this. Their resolutions are worthy of their system; but the attorney-general has commenced the lesson of *law*, which remains to be completed by the government and parliament of Great Britain."

We cannot help subjoining the very sensible and vindicatory remarks of Viscount Goderich, in a despatch to the Earl of Belmore, dated the 1st of March, 1832:—"The documents which your lordship has transmitted, ascribe the recent commotions, not merely

to the erroneous belief amongst the slaves that some law had set them free, but to the influence of religious instruction, communicated by ignorant teachers, and received by a population unprepared by any previous education, to apprehend the real spirit of christianity. Mr. Annand, the overseer, who was confined on the estate called Ginger Hill, attributes to the slaves the following language:—'that they were obliged to assist their brethren in the work of the Lord'—'that this was not the work of man alone, but that they had assistance from God.' A slave named Samuel Sharp, who is designated as a 'ruler of the sect of the baptists,' is described by the same witness as having said, 'that it was but lately that he had begun to know much of religion, but that now he knew, and I knew as well, that freedom was their right, and freedom they would have. He said a great deal more, all tending to show that from the religious notions he had imbibed, he conceived that the slaves had a right to be free.'*

"Assuming that Mr. Annand correctly understood, and has correctly quoted, the language of the insurgent slaves, and that they spoke the common sentiments of the whole religious society of which they were members, this part of the general subject becomes of the highest importance. Amongst those who acknowledge the divine authority of our national faith, there is no room for controversy respecting the duty of imparting the

* Samuel Sharp was executed at Montego Bay, on the 30th of May, attesting, with his last breath, the innocence of the missionaries; and declaring, that if he had listened to their instructions, he never should have come to that awful end.

knowledge of christianity to all mankind, and especially to our own more immediate dependents. However the modes or seasons of instruction may be regulated according to the various circumstances of different classes of society, nothing can justify the systematically withholding from any men, or class of men, a revelation given for the common benefit of all. I could not, therefore, acknowledge that the slaves in Jamaica could be permitted to live and die amidst the darkness of heathen idolatry, whatever effect the advancing light of christianity might ultimately have upon the relation of master and slave. Nor am I anxious to conceal my opinion, that a change in this relation is the natural tendency, and must be the ultimate result, of the diffusion of religious knowledge amongst them. For although the great moral virtues of contentment and universal benevolence may be expected to appear amongst a christian slave population, as the legitimate fruit of christian principles, yet all probability justifies the belief, and all experience attests the fact, that the increased range of thought, the new habits of reflection, and the more lively perception of the duties owing by their fellow-christians to themselves, to which the converted slaves will attain, will gradually produce in their minds new feelings respecting their servile condition. It is also well worth while to reflect upon the inevitable tendencies of the laws for the abolition of the slave trade. So long as the islands were peopled by the importation of native Africans, who lived and died in heathenism, the relation of master and slave might be expected to be permanent. But now that an indigenous race of men has grown up, speaking our

own language, and instructed in our own religion, all the more harsh rights of the owner, and the blind submission of the slave, will inevitably, at some period more or less remote, come to an end. Deeply impressed with this conviction, his majesty's government have endeavoured to make timely preparation for a change which they believe could not be made abruptly, without desolation and general ruin; and the calamity which we have at present to deplore, is but an additional proof of the necessity of acting on so delicate a subject with this provident foresight, and of repressing those unhappy heats and prejudices which have so long obstructed the advance of the indispensable improvement both of the law and state of slavery.

"I am not disposed to deny that the work of religious instruction may, in some instances, have been undertaken by men ill qualified for so arduous a task; and I am even ready, for the sake of argument, to adopt the improbable supposition, that the pure truths of christianity may occasionally have been adulterated by instructions of a seditious nature. Assume all this to be the case, and what is the proper inference? Not assuredly that the slaves be left to their native superstitions and idolatry, but that renewed exertions should be unremittingly made to diffuse amongst them more just apprehensions of religion, and clearer views of those moral obligations, to the enforcement of which all christian instruction should be subservient. * *

"It is not, however, merely to a misconception of religious truth, but to the direct instigation of some of the missionaries, that the recent insurrection is ascribed, in some of the documents which your lordship has

transmitted. I have observed, with great satisfaction, the efforts which you so judiciously made, to guard the persons to whom it would belong to sit in judgment on the missionaries, against the influence of religious prejudices; and I trust that the caution which you have given, will effectually prevent the manifestation of any intemperate or hostile spirit towards them, in any subsequent stage of the proceedings. I must distinctly avow my conviction, that the improbability of the charge is so extreme, that nothing short of the most irresistible evidence could induce a belief of it. The missionaries who engage in the office of converting the slaves in our colonies, cannot, with charity or in justice, be supposed to be actuated by any views of secular ambition or personal advantage. They devote themselves to an abscure, and arduous, and ill requited service. They are well apprized that distrust and jealousy will attend them, and that the path they have chosen leads neither to wealth nor reputation. If in their case, as in that of other men, motives less exclusively sacred than those which are avowed may exercise some influence on their minds, it were irrational either to feel surprise or to cherish suspicion on that account. The great ruling motive must in general be that which is professed, since, in general, there is no other advantage to be obtained, than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of christianity throughout the world."*

What then, it will be naturally inquired, were the real causes of the Jamaica insurrection? Whatever

* Parliamentary Papers.

they might have been, it is plain that religion and missionaries were free from all just imputation.* It was no part of their scheme to promote revolt: their entire purpose was to diffuse the knowledge of Christ and salvation. It does not appear that they ever deviated from their avowed object, or violated their compact, in this respect, with the Society by whom they were sent forth as agents. The insurrectionary movement was as great a surprise to them, as to any part of the community, and they were the first to aim at its suppression.

An idea arose among the negroes, that they had a right to freedom, and that it had been conceded by the British government. This was abundantly elicited by the examination of the prisoners in the jail of Trelawney, undertaken by Mr. Knibb after his honourable acquittal, at the request of the chief justice and Mr. Miller, the custos. The two principal prisoners, called Colonel Gardner and Captain Dove, were promised their lives if they made a full confession. Both these men stated, that they first heard about freedom from the negroes in the neighbourhood of Belvidere and Retrieve; and Gardner said he used his efforts to induce the people to disbelieve it.

* I deeply regret that the feelings of the country should have so strongly marked yourself, and the other baptist missionaries, as objects of persecution. My opinion, an opinion resulting from my own frequent and confidential intercourse, not only with my own negroes, but with the negroes of various other estates, is, that religion had nothing to do with the late disturbances; but on the contrary, its absence was a chief cause of them."—*Letter from Samuel M. Barrett to Mr. Knibb.*

On Christmas day, they met Guthrie, Sharp, George Taylor, and others in the street as they left the chapel, who were talking on the subject. Taylor was advising Sharp not to refuse to work after Christmas, as it would bring a disgrace upon the gospel; to which he replied, "What then is to become of the oath we have taken in the country?" He added, "I know we are *free*; I have read it in the English papers. I have taken an oath not to work after Christmas, without some satisfaction, and I *will not*." This statement was confirmed by John Sharp, the individual who planned the whole. He confessed that several weeks before Christmas, they met at a house at Retrieve, where the insurrection was determined; and he put every one to the oath not to work after Christmas. A Bible was brought, and placed on the table, when he rose, and said, "If ever I witness any thing against my brother and sister concerning this matter, may hell be my portion!" They met again a fortnight before Christmas, and resolved and swore, "that as we know we are free, we will not work for buckra, unless he pay us for it." These people, and some others, afterwards held a meeting at Cunningham Hill, where very violent language was used. Afterwards, under Campbell, from Retrieve, as a ringleader, the work began; he having inspired them with the idea of *fighting for their freedom*.

But the question suggests itself, whence did the negroes derive the idea of *free paper*, or a notion that they were to be made free by an authoritative document from the British government? Their own account was, that the reports sprung out of the unguarded expressions of the overseers, and the newspapers. This

will lead us pretty nearly or quite to the fountain head; and show, that so far from being the missionaries, it was, in fact *the maligners of the missionaries themselves* who originated the rebellion, by the political meetings they held in August and September, 1831, and the wide-spreading dissatisfaction with the parent government, which they publicly and boldly proclaimed. In conformity with this sentiment, is the following language, used by the writers of the vindication before mentioned, in the *Christian Record*:—"We assert our deliberate conviction, formed upon no trifling grounds, and supported by no inconclusive evidence, that the slave-owners and managers,—those implacable foes of religion and religious men, (we speak of the immense majority,)—have themselves been the authors of the late disastrous rebellion. Their foolhardy opposition of every measure proposed for the amelioration of the slave; their deadly hatred and unrelenting persecution of all who have attempted, or even advocated his advancement in the scale of moral being; their absurd and wicked declarations of a determination 'to resist, even unto blood,' certain opponents of what they term their indefeasible rights, among whom are invariably reckoned his majesty's ministers; and their continual taunting of the slaves with the countenance and support of 'their friends in England, and the near approach of freedom,'—thus not only cherishing the most erroneous notions in the minds of their ignorant dependents, but even goading them on to madness, by adding insult to iujury;—these things, we say, when duly considered, cannot fail to convince every reflecting mind, that to

discover the causes of the late unhappy insurrection, we need not travel beyond the doors of the planters themselves."

These facts were distinctly mentioned in a despatch of Lord Goderich. After adverting to the obstinacy of the planters respecting the improvements proposed by government on the colonial slave code, he thus writes, —"In your (Lord Belmore's) despatch of the 6th of September last, which reached this office on the 17th of October, you transmitted to me copies of resolutions adopted at various parochial meetings, which you characterised as 'violent and intemperate,' observing that committees had been appointed in some parishes, for the purpose of corresponding with other districts, and had proceeded so far as to nominate delegates. These resolutions were published in all the journals of the island; and it appears that on most of these occasions, the custos of the parish presided. I will not engage in the invidious office of making extracts from the resolutions thus given to the public; nor do I, without sincere reluctance, observe, that in general they declare their allegiance to be no longer due to the government; pray that they may be permitted to seek protection from some other nation; predict a servile war, which they declare will be viewed with pleasure by their enemies; attribute to the government and parliament of this kingdom designs subversive of their property in the slaves, the execution of which, they maintain, must be resisted by force; and declare the inexpediency of proceeding in any further plans of amelioration, until their title to compensation is distinctly set at rest."

It is needless to pursue the subject further. No

reasonable person can help perceiving that the missionaries stand completely free from all just imputation; and that they acted a part in the crisis as honourable to themselves, as it was to their enemies vexatiously wise. And wonderful were the workings of that providence which signally defeated the wiles and machinations of prostituted authority, the waves of whose mightiest malice were restrained and counteracted by Him who prescribes the ocean bounds, saying to its billows, "Hitherto shalt thou go, and no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

The whole truth of the matter, then, may be expressed in a single sentence. The West India resident planters, and their white companions in impiety, being at the time, from dissatisfaction with government, nearly in a state of rebellion by their private discontents at first, and then by their public proceedings, suggested to the slaves the idea of their freedom; and when this was improved by them into a rebellion, which at once endangered the real traitors, and afforded them an opportunity to wreak an infidel vengeance on men whose religion and virtues were abhorrent to them, they sought to justify or to conceal their own political and moral delinquencies,—their sensuality, brutishness, atheism, and treason, in the innocent blood of devoted missionaries.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE INSURRECTION, UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.

Deeply feeling their situation, and persuaded that mere epistolary correspondence was inadequate to afford sufficient information, or produce sufficient effect upon the minds of their friends at home respecting the evils of slavery, the general state of Jamaica, and the character of the persecution that raged against the servants of Christ,—the missionaries agreed that Mr. Knibb should proceed to England to unite with Mr. Burchell in laying a just representation of the circumstances of the mission before the British public. The following resolution was therefore passed:—

"Considering the present distressed state of our mission, the impossibility of occupying several of our stations, the consequent redundancy of missionaries, the manifest improbability of obtaining redress here, we deem it expedient, for the just representation of our wrongs, and the advancement of the Society's funds, that one of our brethren be appointed as a deputation to proceed forthwith to England, to act under the direction of the committee; and that brother Knibb, on account of his intimate acquaintance with the mission in the disturbed part of the island, and his knowledge of circumstances immediately connected with the rebellion, be appointed for that purpose."

Mr. Knibb and his family accordingly sailed from Kingston, on Thursday, April 26th, 1832, and arrived safely in the mother country in the beginning of June.

In the mean time, christians at home were full of sympathy and fervent in their supplications to heaven. The committee circulated a brief abstract of the intelligence they had received, and recommended that the baptist churches throughout the kingdom should assemble on Friday the 20th of April, "for the purpose of importunate and united prayer on behalf of the missionaries, and to give expression to that christian' sympathy with them in their persecutions, which at such a time they so especially need." This day was extensively and solemnly regarded throughout the denomination. An extraordinary public meeting was also held in May, for the purpose of communicating general information, and stimulating the friends of missions into general activity. Resolutions were passed expressive of gratitude to God for the preservation of the lives of the missionaries, asserting the improvement in the intellectual and moral character of the negroes that had been accomplished, denouncing the groundless and inveterate hostility which had been displayed, and appealing, with suitable acknowledgments for the past, to his majesty's government for prompt and effectual protection for the future.

At the annual meeting on the 21st of June, Mr. Knibb presented himself on the platform at Spa Fields Chapel. It was a period of unusual interest and excitement; it may be added, too, of *progress* in public opinion and feeling. Hitherto the committee

and the denomination at large, though sympathising individually with the movements of the Anti-slavery Society towards the great object of emancipation, had not deemed it desirable or proper to encourage any such direct efforts as a society. They had instructed their missionaries to avoid all questions which might appear to be of a political nature; to submit to the condition of society in Jamaica as they found it, interfering with none of the outward regulations of the colonial assembly or the parental government; but, as missionaries, to go steadily forward in the course allotted to them of preaching and teaching the gospel of Christ. This they had done, as we have seen, with signal success,—a success too notorious to be endured by the enemies of christianity, and too plainly bearing on the ultimate freedom of mankind, whether white or black, to be regarded with tolerance by the mercenary who would not abandon their gains, and the vicious who would not renounce their pleasures. The insurrection had now placed things in a different position; and in its advance had fairly brought slavery and christianity into direct conflict, each in its own way beginning to contend for empire.

At this crisis, Knibb appeared in England to plead for Jamaica. Having given some details on a previous and more private occasion, he began his address at Spa Fields Chapel by saying that he should offer no apology before a British audience for what he might state, but he must fully and boldly declare that "the Society's missionary stations could no longer exist in Jamaica without the entire and immediate abolition of slavery." He had received a previous intimation,

particularly from the secretary, Mr. Dyer, to be moderate, but he declared that he could not restrain himself from speaking the truth. "The christians," said he, "had always been quiet, and never had he there expressed an opinion on slavery; nor would he now have spoken, but that their persecutors had taken from them their religious privileges. But amidst all, the piety and affection of the christian slaves had supported the missionaries, and they anticipated spending an eternity with them, where none could offer molestation. He had for nearly eight years trod the burning soil of that island, and often had that meeting been gratified with the tidings of success; but all now had passed away, and they had hung their harps on the willows. Axes and hammers had demolished their chapels; a Church Colonial Society had been formed; the ministers were threatened with destruction; and infidels, clergymen, and magistrates, had been combined to banish christianity from the island. He could assure the meeting that slaves would never be allowed to worship God till slavery had been abolished." At this instant, the secretary, apprehensive of his committing the interests of the Society by passing beyond the boundaries of the subject, considered merely in its religious aspects, pulled the speaker by the coat. It was a solemn moment, and the man was made for it. He paused,—gave a lightning glance at the awful atrocities of the past, the glorious possibilities of the future, and the grandeur of his own position, as encompassed with terrible responsibilities, standing on the brink of immortal fame or disgrace,—then concentrating all the energies of

thought, feeling, and voice, he exclaimed, "Whatever may be the consequence, I *will* speak. At the risk of my connexion with the Society and all I hold dear, I will avow this; and if the friends of missions will not hear me, I will turn and tell it to my God; nor will I desist till this greatest of curses, slavery, is removed, and "glory to God in the highest" inscribed upon the British flag!"

The meeting was decisive; an excitement was created, such as nothing could suppress, and a series of assemblies convened in different places in the empire, at which Mr. Knibb repeated his statements and appeals with such verbal variations as the circumstances of the case, or the inspiration of the moment, might suggest. The whole denomination was electrified; the christian church, and the general societies already active and assimilated in purpose, concurred in one fixed determination; public opinion rolled onward like a resistless tide; and the fate of slavery was sealed.

In the month of May, 1833, Mr. Stanley, then secretary of state for the colonies, introduced to the House of Commons the government plan of emancipation, entitled "An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies, for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves."* This act passed on the 28th of

* The following is an abstract of its provisions:—

All slaves in the British colonies who should be six years old and upward on the 1st of August, 1834, should become apprenticed labourers. (s. 1.)

August, 1833, and came into operation on the 1st of August, 1834.

The Earl of Mulgrave having obtained permission to return from his command in Jamaica, the Marquis of

---

The person who but for that act would be the owner of the slave, entitled during the apprenticeship to the services of the apprenticed labourer. (s. 2.)

Apprenticed labourers to be divided into three classes:—1, prædial apprenticed labourers attached to the soil, who as slaves were usually employed in agricultural labour on the land of their owners; 2, prædial apprenticed labourers not attached to the soil, who as slaves were usually employed in agricultural labour on lands not belonging to their owners; 3, non-prædial apprenticed labourers: those under twelve years of age to be included in the 3rd class, (s. 4.)

Apprenticeship of prædial labourers to continue till the 1st of August, 1840; of non-prædial till the 1st of August, 1838. (s. 5, 6.)

Apprenticed labours might be discharged by their employers before the expiration of their apprenticeship; but in case any apprenticed labourer so manumitted should be fifty years of age or upward, or incapable from disease of gaining a subsistence, the person so discharging them should continue liable to support them. (s. 7.)

Apprenticed labourer entitled to purchase his discharge against the consent of his employer, at the appraised value of his services. (s. 8.)

Apprenticed labourer not removable from his own colony; and the husband not to be separated from the wife, nor the parent from the child, by any contract, sale, &c.; and prædial apprenticed labourers of the 1st class not to be removed from the plantation to which they were attached without the consent of two special magistrates. (s. 9, 10.)

Employer bound to maintain, and provide apprenticed labourer with necessaries; and where that should be done by the use of

Sligo was appointed as his successor. Previously to his departure to occupy this important station, he granted an interview to a joint deputation from the wesleyan methodist, and baptist missionary societies; and having listened with marked attention to their

---

ground for the cultivation of necessaries, time to be allowed them for such cultivation. (s. 11.)

Subject to the provisions of that act, all slaves in the British colonies to be emancipated on the 1st of August, 1834. (s. 12.)

Children under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834, or who should be born to any female apprenticed labourer after that time, who should become destitute, to be bound apprentice by a special magistrate till he shall be twenty-one years of age. (s. 13.)

Special paid magistrates to be appointed by the crown to carry the act into effect. (s. 14, 15.)

Colonial legislatures empowered to make further regulations for carrying the purposes of the act into effect, so as the same be not inconsistent with the provisions of the act, and as that none but special magistrates be authorised to act in respect of such regulations.

Apprenticed labourers not to be compelled to labour on Sundays except in works of necessity, nor be hindered from attending anywhere on Sundays for religious worship. (s. 21.)

Provisions for the raising and distribution of the £20,000,000 compensation fund.

Certain acts repealed; and quakers and other dissenters placed on the same footing, as to the exercise of religious worship, in the colonies as in England. (s. 61.)

The act not to extend to the East Indies, Ceylon, or St. Helena. (s. 64.)

This act to come into operation and cease to operate, four months later at the Cape of Good Hope, and six months later at the Mauritius, respectively, than the periods provided by this act in respect of the other colonies. (s. 65.)

statements, expressed himself in a manner highly gratifying to them, respecting the importance of religious liberty, and his determination to uphold it. This pledge was fully redeemed: too much so, for the anti-missionary faction abroad, and the trimming politicians at home.

As the first of August approached, England and Jamaica rose into a state of powerful excitement; both beheld the dawn, if not the perfect day of freedom,—that, indeed, was somewhat deferred, yet was this auspicious time the beginning of joys. In England, the appeals of Knibb and Burchell for pecuniary aid on behalf of the Society, were nobly met. Government was solicited not in vain; and the baptist denomination, urged by the committee, and thus aided by the agents of the Society, exerted its energies to supply the necessities of Jamaica. At the annual meeting in June, Mr. Burchell gave some interesting statements, and concluded by an awakening address.—"There were now," he said, "twenty-four churches in Jamaica; and the conduct of the negroes belonging to them, during the late disturbances, gave a testimony to the purity of their faith; for he never heard one of them, throughout the whole, use a harsh expression respecting their persecutors. Whenever they spoke of them, they did so in terms of compassion and pity, and they prayed heartily for the forgiveness of those who were hunting them to death. Their sympathy for their ministers was so intense, that they quite forgot themselves. During his incarceration, he was allowed to walk for an hour each day in the prison-yard for air, under the restriction that he should not speak to any of the

imprisoned negroes. A man, seventy years of age, one of eleven that formed the first church at Montego Bay in the year 1824, called to him from the grating of his cell; but remembering the restriction, he took no notice; and this was continued for three days. On the fourth day, he determined, at all risks, to speak to this old disciple, and proceeded to the cell, but he was not there. He called him: he heard the clanking of his chains, and in an instant he came to the grating, and with tears in his eyes, said, 'Minister, what make me feel is to see minister in trouble; me can bear it myself; me willing to suffer what God see fit; but when me see my minister, him leave father and mother and country to come to teach me, it be more than me can bear. Never mind, massa, bear up, keep good heart, you know we Saviour suffer more than we suffer.' He little expected such an interview, but on the contrary, that the poor man would apply to him for a word of consolation. On his liberation, the negroes crowded around him, and his feelings were overpowered with their sympathy. They said, in reference to their persecutors, 'We know they wicked, but we must pray for them.' * * * Where were the sanctuaries of the living God? They had been burnt with fire, and levelled to the ground; and their ashes were now trodden under foot by the adversary. Thirteen of them were in ruins, and nearly twenty thousand negroes were deprived of a place in which to meet and worship God. Should this desolation be allowed to continue? * * * He appealed to them on behalf of thirteen scattered churches, comprising five thousand members and ten thousand inquirers, and in behalf of thousands of

perishing negroes. The first of August was approaching. Let not, then, the shouts of the liberated negroes be mingled with the lamentations of twenty thousand of their number over the ruins of their chapels. Let not the joyful train of the conqueror be brought up by thousands in the rear refusing to be comforted for Zion lying waste. Let the approaching day of jubilee be one of holy festivity and unruffled joy; not a tear be shed, not a sigh be heard; and let the chain, the whip, and the whole paraphernalia of bondage be burnt with fire, while angels renew the song, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will to men.'" Mr. Knibb moved a resolution to the following effect:— "That government having consented to recommend to parliament to grant a sum of £5510, to meet existing liabilities on chapels and other property belonging to this Society destroyed in Jamaica, and confident hope being entertained, that if this Society will raise £6195, being one half of the remaining amount of damages incurred in consequence of the outrages in that island, his majesty's ministers will also recommend to parliament to grant an equal sum,—this meeting deems it most important to make an immediate appeal to the friends of religion to realize the desired amount, and thereby reinstate the negro population in the possession of religious privileges which they so justly prize, and also lay the foundation for more vigorous and extensive operations." He mentioned the cheering fact, that the Bible Society had determined on presenting every negro with a New Testament and a copy of the Psalms on the day of jubilee, and depicted the anticipated delight of that day, when each negro mother would call

her child her own. "In the district which he occupied sixty prayer-houses were demolished, and in Mr. Burchell's no less than a hundred. These places were built by the voluntary efforts of the poorest classes of christians; but they were now without the means of rebuilding them, and must be assisted. The governor of Jamaica had gone round himself, not intrusting the business to other hands, and explained to the assembled negroes the nature of the bill; and on the very spot where a hundred and fifty negroes suffered on one gallows, he had proclaimed, 'On the first of August, you, your wives, and children, will all be free!'"

The public meeting realized, by extra donations, more than *two thousand seven hundred pounds*, and jubilee cards were prepared for general circulation, to be returned on the 7th of August, to a meeting convened at the City of London Tavern, for the purpose of their reception. That was a day of great and hallowed excitement, when Knibb and Burchell again took a prominent part in the proceedings. It appeared that the amount of collections and subscriptions, raised in seven weeks since the committee informed the public that £6000 were required for the rebuilding of the chapels in Jamaica, exceeded *ten thousand pounds*. Before the end of the month, however, contributions continuing to pour in from every quarter, the sum subscribed was nearly *thirteen thousand pounds*. This was the more remarkable, as the committee had at first felt considerable hesitation about making the appeal at all, because extra subscriptions of more than £2000 had just been presented to defray the expense of missionaries returning to their stations and sending

others; and the Society was, at the time, encumbered with a debt of nearly £3000. This was surely "the Lord's doing," and it was truly "marvellous in the eyes" of every friend of the mission; one of those great occasions which it was a privilege to have lived to witness. Vain were the attempt to describe, in adequate terms, the emotions of that evening,—the smiling countenances, the mutual welcomings, the devout aspirations, the kindling raptures, of the busy throng, as they rushed forward with emulative eagerness to pour their collections into the treasury of the Lord, acknowledging, with tears of joy, they found it "more blessed to give than to receive."

In the meanwhile, affairs proceeded in Jamaica much after the old fashion; the hostility of the colonists seemed to suffer no abatement; and in addition to others who, on various pretexts, were forbidden the exercise of their ministry, Mr. Baylis of Port Maria was silenced. It was nothing to the purpose that the place of assembly at Oracabessa was licensed, and that he was in possession of an island license himself; the warrant under which he was arrested charged him with preaching and teaching in an unlicensed house. Mr. Dendy removed from Spanish Town to Port Royal at the commencement of the year, where he lost his only child at the age of six months; and subsequently to Anotta Bay, where he had scarcely entered upon his labours before he was arrested and conveyed to prison, on the same ground of preaching without a license. The local authorities even avowed their determination not to acknowledge

any English statute securing toleration to protestant dissenters. Messrs. Nichols and Abbott having resolved to be present at the quarter sessions, and to regulate their conduct by the decision of the court in the case of the wesleyan missionary, Mr. Murray, who they knew would apply and offer to qualify, proceeded to Kingston. Murray did apply, and was peremptorily refused. One of the magistrates declared that they were determined not to allow any sectarian minister to preach; that there was no law granting it to them as a right; and that he, for one, did not and would not *allow any English law* to be in force in that island. On the 22nd of February, Nichols and Abbott wrote from the jail of Montego Bay, saying, "You will regret to perceive that we are deprived of our liberty for the present, but will rejoice that it is for no worse crime than that of publishing the gospel of peace." They were committed on the 18th, with their friend Mr. Lewin, for meetings held at his house; but came out on the 25th, upon giving security, each for himself, in the sum of £100, to appear and answer at the quarter sessions in the ensuing April.

Previously to the regular dissolution of the House of Assembly by the governor, a committee was appointed to examine whether any amelioration had taken place in the condition of the slaves since 1823, and whether any impediments had been put in the way of their religious instruction. The object of this farcical show of legislative inquiry, was simply, as it seemed, to afford an opportunity of pouring contempt upon the missionaries, by subjecting them to examinations of the most arbitrary and irrelevant description. It was

inexpressibly satisfactory to them, however, that in the midst of these proceedings religion triumphed; and many presented themselves for christian communion, undismayed by the perils to which they were exposed by their profession. The state of the church under Mr. Tinson's care afforded him much encouragement. He had resumed his occasional services at the station of Yallahs, where the congregation consisted almost entirely of slaves; and though threats had been employed, he persevered in his labours. The school connected with the church and congregation in East Queen Street (Kingston) was in a state highly creditable to the master, and confounding to the pertinacious assertors of negro stupidity.

Mr. Gardner reported that notwithstanding the detrimental effect of persecution in producing coldness in some, the "constancy of others was beyond all description."

Mr. Whitehorne, writing from Mount Charles, represented that there were gratifying indications of a growing attachment to the gospel. "I am glad to say that the number of attendants has so much increased, as to oblige me to give up exactly one half the accommodations hitherto reserved for the minister. I have not done this hastily, for almost every sabbath for the last six months, the chapel has been completely filled, and very frequently there have been nearly as many outside as within. The number of members and inquirers in my book at present is nearly six hundred. I am sure that five hundred of them attend several times each month. I have accurate means of ascertaining the attendants by name once a-month. The

tickets used at the ordinance have the names of members written on them, and I always make a note on them whether the parties have attended or not, which serves to mark the general regularity of attendance or otherwise. And on another day, I meet the whole of the inquirers, about a hundred and fifty in number, whose names I call over, and bestow an hour or two in talking to them in various ways, and informing myself of their lives and proceedings."

In Spanish Town, although it was the seat of government, as well as at the subordinate stations of Vere and Old Harbour, Mr. Taylor was exceedingly molested in the performance of his duties; but after the issuing of the royal proclamation, these annoyances had abated. The proclamation in question was directed against the "colonial unions;" and this was accompanied by a circular letter from the governor, dated January the 25th, 1833, requiring the prompt obedience and co-operation of the magistrates in enforcing it. But the daring contumacy of the planters was not to be so easily suppressed. A spirit of determined adherence to the resolutions of the Union displayed itself in several parts of the island, especially in the parish of St. Ann's, where the persecuting scheme originated. In various places, the king's proclamation and the governor's circular were torn down, and placards substituted, such as the following:—"Down with Mulgrave—no sectarians—independence of Jamaica—no whigs—success to the colonial unions!" The daily papers were full of the abuse of the king and his representative. The governor was called "the baptist-loving earl, the heartless whig, the namby-pamby

novel-writer," &c. &c.; and was treated with as little ceremony as the missionary, short of personal violence. These demonstrations of hostility were met by Earl Mulgrave in a spirit of calm and dignified firmness, becoming his character and office; but it became more and more obvious that the entire framework of society there required to be remodelled.

At the meeting of the House of Assembly in December, 1833, the governor delivered a speech which was characterised by the happiest union of dignity, firmness, and mildness; and it was answered in a conciliatory tone. A considerable change had now occurred in the general feeling with regard to missionaries; and many striking instances of mortality among those who had signalised themselves by the violence of their hostility, had excited public attention. A beneficed clergyman who was the foremost to destroy one of the chapels in the parish of Hanover, and to rouse his neighbours to second him in the sacrilegious deed, soon after fought a duel with one of his most zealous coadjutors on that occasion, and received wounds of which he died in a few weeks. A planter near Montego Bay, who in the time of the insurrection carried off the sacramental wine belonging to the churches in that district, triumphantly regaling himself and his boon companions with the same, and loudly declaring that if he could find Mr. Burchell, he would shoot him with his own hands, be the consequences what they might, was himself shot unintentionally by an overseer, and expired in three days.

It was stated in a letter from Mr. Abbott, not only that the worship of God was peaceably conducted at

Montego Bay, Falmouth, and Lucea, but that, on the last sabbath day in September, he had among his audience at the first named of these towns, upwards of twenty persons who had been actively engaged in destroying the former chapel. These individuals behaved with great decorum, and contributed liberally at the close of the service.

At Kingston, the congregations were large. The school proceeded well under the care of Mr. Samuel Whitehorne; but had been visited by a calamity of an unusual character. On the morning of October the 11th, the roof of the school-house was struck by lightning, which set the wood work of the roof on fire, and descending a pillar into the school-room, instantaneously killed two little boys who were sitting near it, and considerably injured several others of the children. Damage to the amount of about £120 was done before the flames could be extinguished, and the public manifested their interest in the institution by contributing for the necessary repairs. The Earl and Countess of Mulgrave were among the foremost to countenance the subscription, as well as to show humane and liberal attention to the poor children who were injured by the shock.

Early in the year, Messrs. Coultart and Philippo, with their families, returned; and Messrs. Benjamin Dexter, who was designated at Olney, January the 21st, 1834, and John Hutchins, appointed at Bedford on the 6th of February, went from England to strengthen the mission. Most of the stations were in a state of prosperity.

Mr. Kingdon reported a steady increase of hearers

at Manchioneal and Morant Bay. At the latter station, a piece of ground had been offered him for the erection of a chapel.

In consequence of the return of Mr. Phillippo to Spanish Town, Mr. Clarke had removed into the interior, and taken up his residence at Kenmuir, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, where it is much cooler than on the coast. To his former station at Constant Spring, where he preached in a low thatched hut with mud walls, to a congregation of four or five hundred persons, though not half that number could find room within the walls, he added another station in the same parish, in what is called the Bove Rocks district, together with Garden Hill and Retirement, in the adjoining parish of St. John's; and more recently, Fairfield, in St. Ann's. At all these places, the spirit of hearing was good, and considerable facilities were afforded by several influential persons among the white proprietors.

Seventy-three persons were baptized by Mr. Baylis at Oracabessa, on the 25th of May, and many more wished for admission, whom he judged it proper to keep back for the present. He had commenced a new station at Bagnal's Vale, twelve miles from Oracabessa.

St. Ann's Bay, and its subordinate stations, Ocho Rios and Brown's Town, were supplied by Mr. Coultart, who was much pleased with the happy results of the labours of his predecessor, Mr. Nichols. At the earnest desire of several negroes who came from thence, Mr. Coultart had visited and preached at Pedro Plains, twenty-five miles from St. Ann's. These poor people

had never seen a white minister before, and such was their anxiety to hear the gospel, that not fewer than a hundred and fifty of them went over to St. Ann's to entreat to be visited.

From Falmouth, Mr. Dendy stated, that in that town, and also at Rio Bueno and Stewart's Town, the houses in which they assembled for worship were inconveniently crowded; so that they were painfully anxious to have their ruined chapels rebuilt. Opportunities for preaching in the week evenings, in the country places, were multiplying.

Mr. Dexter remarked, in writing from Montego Bay, under date of June the 24th, that the hostile feelings formerly indulged, appeared to be fast dying away. The congregations were very large, so as to render it quite impossible to afford them adequate accommodation. Eighteen persons were baptized by Mr. Abbott in the river, on Lord's day, June the 22nd, being the first time of administering the ordinance there since the insurrection, and the whole service passed off without the slightest disturbance. By a judicious distribution of labour between Mr. Abbott and Messrs. Dexter and Hutchins, the stations at Lucea, Green Island, Gurney's Mount, Salter's Hill, and Savanna-la-Mar, had been re-occupied. At these and the other stations, the missionaries had publicly explained to their congregations the nature of the change about to take place in their civil condition, and to prepare them for it.

When the first of August, 1834, arrived, it was celebrated in the Jamaica churches in a pious and suitable manner. At Falmouth, Mr. Dendy states that they held a prayer meeting at six in the morning. At half

past ten, a sermon was preached, when not fewer than sixteen hundred people were present. Previous notice had been given that a collection would be made, as a thank-offering to God for the change effected, and the proceeds applied towards the re-erection of the chapel. The people, though poor, contributed £82 currency. There was no noisy ebullition of feeling during the day; but every countenance beamed with gladness, and every heart beat with joy and gratitude. On the following sabbath, Jamaica witnessed such a sabbath as was never before seen. "The eye was no longer pained, or the heart grieved," says Mr. Dendy, "by seeing the country people with baskets of provisions on their heads for sale, or in beholding the stores and shops for the vending of different commodities; but all was quietness and repose, while decently dressed people passed to and from different places of worship."

Mr. Abbott gives an account of the same kind from Montego Bay. A preparatory prayer-meeting was held on the 31st of July, which was well attended; and on the following day, the chapel, yard, and streets about the chapel, were crowded to excess. On the next day, in the evening, the chapel was full, and many in the yard at a prayer-meeting; and on the third, the congregation was even more numerous than on the preceding Friday, amounting, on the most moderate computation, to three thousand persons. After the morning service, thirty-five were introduced to the church, which assembled at the table of the Lord, to the number of twelve hundred members.

Similar services were held at Lucea, where Mr. Dexter

officiated, at Savanna-la-Mar, the sphere of Mr. Hutchinson's labours, and other places.

Mr. Tinson, in writing from Kingston, adverts to several gratifying facts. "By four o'clock in the morning, the chapels in town were thronged; we had services during the day in every place except the church and the kirk; in some parts of the country the national and Scotch churches were also opened. In the evening, we held our monthly missionary prayer meeting at East Queen Street chapel, and Mr. Thompson, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, gave an address to a very large and attentive audience. The quietness of the day was surprising; I went into town between services, and every thing seemed more still than is usual on the sabbath, and the people seemed disposed to make it quite a religious day. In the evening, there were a few joyous groups about the streets; one passed our house, chiefly young persons and children, adorned with green leaves and flowers, and carrying branches in their hands, dancing, and singing, 'Tankee, Massa, fus a' Augus! Hurra! hurra! fus a' Augus come! fus a' Augus for eber! We da 'prentice now, God bless de king! Hurra! hurra! fus a' Augus for eber!'

"It was truly surprising, and very delightful to the christian, to see how completely the Sunday markets ceased on the very first sabbath in this month. I baptized twenty persons on that morning, and in going to the sea at day-break, I had to pass along the road where a large public market has been kept by the country people for many years; and where formerly at that hour on sabbath morning, it would have presented

the appearance of a large country fair in England; but now there was not a person to be seen, except those going to the baptism, and not a vestige of the market. I was told by some of our members who went to see, that it was the same in the city, where thousands used to assemble. Surely God has heard the prayers of his people in England! This is his doing, and marvellous in our eyes."

Mr. Phillippo furnishes an enlarged and very interesting account from Spanish Town, some portions of which could not with justice be suppressed. "On the joyful morning, the apprentices were seen at an early hour clothed in clean and neat attire, flocking from all parts of the country into the town. Most of them repaired to the houses of their respective neighbours and friends for rest and refreshment, after which thousands repaired to the different places of worship open to receive them—almost literally as 'doves to their windows.' At ten o'clock, the chapel in which I officiate was so crowded that I could scarcely find my way into the pulpit; and by the time service was commenced, multitudes could not get within reach of the doors or windows. This was before intimated to be a meeting of devout acknowledgment to God for the great boon the principal part of my sable congregation had that day received; and never shall I forget my feelings when I saw them for the first time in my life standing before me in all the consciousness of freedom. It seemed as though I was in a new world, or surrounded by a new order of beings. The downcast eye, the gloomy countenance, and, strange as it may seem, even the vacant, unintellectual physiognomy had

vanished. Every face was lighted up with smiles, and I have every reason to believe that every heart rejoiced. After such an introduction as the occasion would naturally dictate, I called on several of my sable brethren to lead the devotions. Their addresses to the divine footstool, which they approached with great reverence and self-abasement, were a mingled flow of supplication and gratitude, adoration and love. * *

"Said one,—'O Lord, our gracious Saviour, what we is meet togeder for dis mornin' when we don't usual do so on dis day of de week? We is come to bless and to magnify dy great and holy name dat dou has done dis great blessin' unto us, to bring us out of de house of bondage dis day. O Lord, what is dis dat we eye see, and we ear hear? Dy word tell we dat king and prophet wish to see de tings dat we see, and to hear de tings dat we hear, and die without de sight. O Lord, if we desperate wicked and tubborn heart won't prais dee as dey ought, pluck dem up by de root! Here Lord, we give dem up unto dee; melt dem wid de fire of dy love, wash dem in de pure fountain of dy blood, and make dem what dou would have dem to be.'

"'Blessed Lord,' said another, 'as dou so merciful pare we, to let we see dis blessed mornin', we want word, we want tongue, we want heart to praise dee. Debil don't do de good to us, but dou do de good to us, for dou put into de heart of blessed European to grant us dis great privilege. O derefore may none of we poor sinner praise de debil by makin' all de carouse about de street, but flock like dove to deir window, to praise and glorify dy great name.'

"'Since dou has done dis great ting,' said a third,

'O dat we may love dee and dy gospel more; may we neber turn dy blessing into a curse, may we be diligent in our proper calling, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. O Lord, now do dou make thine arm bare, and turn de heart of all de people unto dee. We bless dee dat dou has incline so many poor dyin' sinner to come up to dy house dis day. O Lord, teach deir heart, turn dem from deir own way, same as dou did de city of Nineveh. Now make them trow down deir rebellious weapon, fight against dee no more, for dou say, Who eber fight against dee and prosper? Our eye is up unto dee, we cannot let dee go, except dou bless us wid dy grace: dou only canst change de stubborn heart,—turn it like de river of water is turned, dat all may serve dee from de least even unto de greatest.' * * * *

"The service concluded, Mrs. Phillippo having a considerable number of pin-cushions, bags, &c., sent by kind friends from England, left on hand after the sale, I gave notice that I would distribute them as far as they would go, among the female part of the congregation, on condition of their keeping them in commemoration of the day; and that on presenting them when the term of their apprenticeship expired, (that is, those who survived,) they should each be presented with a gift more worthy their acceptance. Happy should I have been to have distributed among the more intelligent part of them the munificent gifts voted them by the British and Foreign Bible Society; but they had not arrived. Personally undertaking the distribution of these articles, I occupied an elevated spot for the purpose. My situation, I soon found, was

far from enviable; to retreat was out of the question. I was in a moment surrounded by my sable fair as by a flight of bees; so beset was I with importunities, so obstructed for want of elbow room, so stunned by their incessant volubility of tongue, vociferating, 'Please massa, gie me one bag to 'member fus a' Augus,' &c., that I was so overcome with heat, fatigue, and abstinence, the distribution occupying nearly an hour and a half, that my legs almost failed to support me; but my task was by no means performed.

* * * * * *

"By this time, (nearly two o'clock,) the children, to the number of four hundred, had again assembled, and had seated themselves in the centre of the chapel; they especially having been led to expect some little memento from christian friends in England, on this never-to-be-forgotten day. They were clothed in their best attire, and looked remarkably clean and neat. We distributed among them medals, pin-cushions, bags, and books; completely exhausting the little remaining stock of these articles we possessed. The closing devotional exercises being attended to, they then returned in an orderly manner to their homes. After a short interval of refreshment and rest, the hour arrived for evening service. The congregation was again overwhelming, and exhibited, as usual, every grade of colour, and I was about to say, every diversity of creed, and circumstance, and character. I preached as well as my exhausted energies of both body and mind allowed, and thus closed the services of one of the most interesting and glorious days that has ever adorned the page of history.

"On the following sabbath I was to baptize. * * * At four o'clock in the morning the whole neighbourhood around presented a moving picture of life. Every thing being announced as ready at a little after five, I soon found myself at the water's edge, between two parallel lines of candidates clothed in white, extending along the aisles to the extremity of the chapel, and amidst a concourse of people that below resembled one vast unbroken body. * * * The preliminary services being completed, I took the first candidate by the hand, led her down into the water, and baptized her, and the rest in succession, to the number of one hundred and five; great order and solemnity prevailing throughout the ceremony. The chapel yard, for hours after, presented one of the most gratifying sights that could be beheld. Every heart rejoiced, every tongue was loosened, and every countenance wore a smile. Groups were sitting or standing beneath the shade of the trees that adorned the premises, exchanging mutual congratulations, or engaged in more sober converse. Every thing, indeed, seemed to say that this was the dawn of brighter days, the birthday of liberty, and the earnest of the speedy and universal reign of righteousness and peace.

CHAPTER V.

1834 TO 1838.

After the apprenticeship act came into operation, the negroes, to the extreme disappointment and mortification of those who were inimical to their freedom, evinced the most industrious as well as pacific dispositions; and whatever were the oppressions they still continued to suffer, their deportment was a perpetual refutation of the calumnies heaped upon them, and of the sinister predictions that were diligently circulated.

In the autumn of 1834, Messrs. Knibb and Burchell returned, and were welcomed by their respective congregations with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. The former relates the following impressive fact. "As soon as the boat could be made sea-worthy, we embarked for Rio Bueno, which we reached in safety the same evening. On entering this lovely little bay, the first object that attracted my attention was the ruins of the chapel in which I had many times proclaimed the words of eternal life. The person who set fire to the chapel is beneath the clods of the valley. Shortly after, he left his home for a ride, and was missed for two days, when he was accidentally discovered by a negro, hanging between two rocks, *quite mad*, from whence he was carried home, where he died in the same state." In narrating the circum-

tances of his landing, he thus proceeds :—"Some pushed off in a canoe, into which I got, with my family, and soon landed on the beach. Verily we were nearly pushed into the sea by kindness. Poor Mrs. Knibb was quite overcome. They took me up in their arms—they sang—they laughed—they wept; and I wept too. "Him come, him come, for true." On they rushed to the chapel, where we knelt together at the throne of grace. On the following morning we started by land for Falmouth: the poor people in the pass all knew me; and had I stopped to shake hands with all, I should have been long on the road. As I entered Falmouth, I could scarce contain my feelings, nor can I now. I was, and am, completely overcome. They stood—they looked—"It him, it him, for true; but see how him stand; him make two of what him was when him left." Soon the news spread, and from twenty to twenty-five miles distant they came. In the evening we held a prayer-meeting. The chapel was crowded."

Mr. Burchell's account of his return is equally interesting. "When we were three miles distant from the town, (Montego Bay,) we had to pull up to shake hands with some who were come out to meet us; as we proceeded onwards, the numbers and frequency of the groups of friends increased. It was almost more than we could bear. The poor people looked at us as though they could scarcely believe their own eyes, and then they clasped their hands, blessed God, and burst into tears. When we entered the town, a crowd of recollections burst upon my mind as I looked upon the spot where the *Blanche* was anchored when I

was first taken prisoner; but my attention was soon aroused from reflection, for as we passed along the streets, many of the inhabitants came to their doors and windows, congratulating us as we passed by. As we proceeded more into the town, the doors and windows became crowded, and many were the kind congratulations of our former townsfriends; some expressed their feelings by their remarks, some waved their handkerchiefs, and others their hats. As we entered the centre of the town we were recognised by one who had been a very staunch friend in our difficulties, he took off his hat, and greeted us most cordially; this excited the attention of the negroes in the market, and one of them recognising us, exclaimed, 'Bless God,—and him come for true! Massa Burchell, him come for true!' Others now joined him, and began clapping their hands, when the whole multitude, consisting of three or four thousand, waving their hands and hats, set up their shouts, and made the whole town resound with their thundering huzzas."

For a long period they found it scarcely possible to alight from their gig; the yard and street were crowded; and Mrs. Burchell could with difficulty escape from the oppressive kindness. "The whole of Saturday, the 22nd, was spent in receiving the congratulations of the people, whose remarks were frequently affecting. Many threw themselves down at my feet, and wept aloud. Some looked at me, and then said, 'Hi, massa, and it you for true! and you for we, massa Burchell! and me see you with me own eye! blessed God!' and then they burst into tears. After speaking to a party and shaking hands, I was

compelled to request them to leave, in order to give place to others; when one said, 'No, massa, me no go, me no able to believe yet,—and is it Massa Burchell for true?' Another one said, 'Now, massa, me know dat God him true—him hear for we prayer—but him take him own time—and him work him own way—but him do every ting quite good.' Indeed, I could fill a sheet with their interesting sayings. One poor afflicted negress came down from the country (a distance of twenty miles) the next Saturday, the 29th; and when she saw me, looking upon me, as the tears rolled down her face, she said, 'Massa, me hear you come—and me *hungry* for see you—and me cry for see you—me take two day for walk for see you—and now me believe—God him too good—me now willing for die, for now me know God him true.'"

During the Christmas week after his return, Mr. Knibb baptized one hundred and thirty-four; and he assures us that their conduct had been consistent for five, and some seven years, and that more than half of them referred their first religious impressions to "poor Massa Mann," as they expressed it. What a glorious testimony to the usefulness of that eminent and departed missionary! In referring to the state of the negro population, Mr. Tinson speaks with great satisfaction of their growing thirst for information; which he had laboured successfully to impart. The missionaries generally experienced much encouragement; but their first efforts were directed to the re-erection of the chapels, in doing which the spirit of the people was nobly manifested. In several instances they emulated each other in carrying materials to the

places where the new buildings were to be reared. Mr. Tinson furnishes a pleasing specimen of this alacrity in relation to his place at Yallahs. "I believe I told you that all the materials were prepared in Kingston. When every thing was ready, we freighted a large sloop, and took the whole at once. I sent round to the different properties to inform the people when it would be landed, requesting them to come and carry it from the wharf to the mission premises, about half a mile—this I did to save expense of cartage; and last Saturday fortnight, upwards of 100 persons assembled early in the morning for the purpose; and never did I see work done more cheerfully. By three o'clock in the afternoon every piece was on the mission ground. It was really pleasing to see the cheerfulness, as well as energy, with which they laboured. Some of the pieces of timber were very long and heavy, to remove which the builder said I must get a wain; but the people seemed determined to do all themselves; three men would get under one piece, and though evidently oppressed with their load, would sing as they went. The women, too, were equally zealous; but who ever knew *them* backward in labours of love? I think their number exceeded that of the men; some of them brought their piccaninies also to help in the good work, and even their donkies were employed,—these they loaded with shingles, and drove before them, carrying a load themselves at the same time. I have mentioned this circumstance, not as any thing wonderful, or as being in itself an evidence of superior piety, but as a pleasing expression of the people's interest in the cause of Christ, and which, I have no

doubt, in many instances originated in sincere religious feeling and principle. The conclusion of the business pleased me much. I was not on the premises when they finished, but one came to call me, saying they had done, and wished me to dismiss them with prayer. I went immediately, and found them all seated in the house, prepared to join in adoration and praise to that God whose temple they had been preparing to erect. We read several portions of Scripture, sang, and prayed; and they all departed to their respective habitations."

On the 7th of February, 1835, the foundation-stone of the new chapel was laid at Montego Bay; and on the 14th, that at Falmouth. On both occasions emotions of holy joy and thanksgiving prevailed; the missionaries from different places assisting on the occasion.

Mr. Clarke's correspondence proves that amidst the laborious and exhausting avocations of chapel building, a divine blessing rested on his labours. Considerable additions were made to the church under his care. He mentions having members and inquirers from one hundred and fifteen estates and settlements in three parishes, and from the parish of St. Mary. In these estates there were about ten thousand. Having, during some months, been engaged in examining candidates, he was privileged to conduct a hundred and nine to the water of baptism. At Port Maria, Mr. Baylis describes the prospect around him as being most cheering. The church at Anotta Bay, under the care of Mr. Barlow, received large additions. On the 8th of April a new church was formed at Green

Island, by the union of fifteen members dismissed from Lucea. Both these stations were under the care of Mr. Abbott. The foundation-stone of a new chapel at Green Island was laid on the 9th of May; and on the next day, eighty-one candidates were baptized in the river at Lucea, in the presence of a large and attentive audience. A church was also formed at Endeavour, of ninety-two members dismissed from Falmouth and Salter's Hill. At Shortwood, a country station in connexion with Montego Bay, there was a church of two hundred members, besides a thousand inquirers.

At this time, Mr. William Shotton of Darlington went from England to take charge of the school at Spanish Town, under the direction of Mr. Phillippo. Amidst various difficulties and much opposition, Mr. Coultart proceeded with the erection of the chapels at Brown's Town and Ocho Rios. The committee sent Mr. John Clarke, a member of the church in Devonshire Square, to his assistance, as the number and distance of his stations rendered it quite impossible for him fully to supply them. He sailed for that purpose on the 7th of July, and reached his destination in due course.

In referring to the enlargement of his chapel, to accommodate six hundred additional hearers, Mr. Phillippo says that a second enlargement was immediately afterwards as much required as the first; for the chapel was crowded to suffocation. He speaks of the first sabbath in July as a high and hallowed day. "Not only did a thousand (more or less of us) sit down and commemorate the dying love of our once

crucified, but now risen and exalted Saviour, but I had the honour and the happiness of introducing to that 'feast of love,' and of giving the right hand of fellowship to one hundred and seventeen persons who never before enjoyed the privileges of their high and holy relationship, and to whom I had just administered the sacred rite of baptism, on a profession of their faith in Christ, in the presence of a great cloud of witnesses. Some of these were young and interesting; had been nurtured almost from childhood in our sabbath-school; had been 'turned from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God,' chiefly through the instrumentality of instructions there received; and, above all, were among the first-fruits of that blessed institution unto Christ. No less than six of these interesting young persons were now before me. And there were, connected with their early dedication to God, other elements of interest. Though once scholars, they were now Sunday-school teachers; and under the influence of feelings and principles which sound scriptural education inspires, they seemed so fully aware of the nature of the vows they had vowed, and of their deep responsibility to God and to his church, that they continued bathed in tears during the greater part of my address to them. These circumstances seemed to awaken the sympathies of the whole assembly; and while all eyes were turned towards them, many and fervent, I doubt not, were the prayers offered up that God would preserve them from all the future dangers of their pilgrimage, and at last administer unto them an abundant entrance into glory. There was a third circumstance of interest connected with these youthful

converts, and which I must not omit to mention. Three of the females had been slaves; one of them had been redeemed under circumstances of painful interest, by friends at Reading; the others under circumstances of interest no less painful, by friends in Jamaica. Two of them are the active and efficient assistant school-mistresses in the 'Jamaica Metropolitan School,' and the other is training for the same department of usefulness."

Mr. Clarke informs us, that on the 27th of June, the foundation-stone of the chapel at Springfield was laid by John Thomas Bell, Esq., magistrate and coroner, who had shown great kindness, and from whom he purchased the land.

The foundation-stone was laid for the chapel at Jericho on the 1st of August, when an address was delivered by Mr. Phillippo, which deeply affected most who were present. The collection, on that and the following day, amounted to upwards of fifty pounds, and a warm interest was shown by some who before were unfriendly; indeed, opposition in every place around had nearly ceased, and all was peace and quietness not only in that neighbourhood, but throughout the island.

Mr. Baylis, also, in writing from Port Maria, adverts to the state of the negro population. The people had gone to their work as usual, and the first year of negro apprenticeship had passed away in a much more favourable manner than had been anticipated.

Mr. Dexter, in writing from Stewart Town on June the 26th, describes the chapels as going forward there and at Rio Bueno. The corner-stone was laid at the

latter place on the 23rd of May, when Burchell, Knibb, and Dendy were present; and the poor people exerted themselves nobly, raising on that and the following day sixty pounds.

At Christmas, when Mr. Dexter took charge of the stations, there were in each church about a hundred members. Since that time there had been added to the one in Stewart Town a hundred and twenty-four, and to that at Rio Bueno a hundred and sixty; making a total of two hundred and eighty-four during the half year which had just closed. Every thing in the conduct of the members towards each other, had, with only one exception, been characterised by peace and love.*

Mr. Dendy states that on the 12th of July, he baptized thirty-four persons; the first that had ever been

* A beautiful incident is related by Mr. Knibb, in relation to Rio Bueno. When, on his return, he visited the ruins of the chapel, he found them covered with a herb called "the tree of life." On communicating this fact to Mr. Montgomery, the poet transmitted to him the following lines:—

"When flames devoured the house of God,
Kindled by hell, with heaven at strife,
Up sprung spontaneous from the sod
A forest of the tree of life;
Meet emblem of the sanctuary
Which there had been, and yet should be.

"Now on the same thrice-hallowed spot
In peace a second temple stands,
And God hath said, 'Destroy it not!'
For lo! the blessing he commands,
As dews on Hermon's hill of yore,
Life, even life for evermore!"

baptized at Salter's Hill, (the former church met at Crooked Spring,) and the first baptism he had performed in the country. The remembrance of former days rushed into the minds of many of the old members, having been destitute of a full supply of the means of grace since the latter part of December, 1831; and during this vacancy, no fewer than ninety-two members had been called out of time into eternity; several by the hands of violence, others by the visitation of God. This number of deaths formed an eighth part of the whole number of the Salter's Hill church.

His secondary station, Endeavour, afforded great encouragement. The church, which was formed on the 26th of April, then consisted of a hundred and sixty-one members. The number of attendants was about nine hundred; and in consequence of the grant of the Society, he was seeking an eligible spot for the erection of a chapel. "We are still exposed," says he, "to calumny and reproach, and to evil reports concerning us, by newspaper attacks, &c.; but all this we care not for; if God be with us, all will be well."

Savanna-la-Mar seemed to maintain its unenviable notoriety for opposition to religious instruction. Mr. Hutchins says, July the 14th, "Our poor people are persecuted beyond measure. Scarcely a sabbath passes but my blood runs cold at hearing the heart-rending tale of one or more, who were coming to the temple of God, and calling for a brother or a sister to travel with them,—while in the very act of singing or praying to God, have been arrested by some daring zealot, who has caused their feet to be thrust into the stocks. But amidst it all, we are prospering. Our congregation

here continues to increase, and prospects are as pleasing as the persecutions are severe."

Mr. Taylor, whose churches at Old Harbour, Ebony Chapel, and Four Paths, had received great accessions, was indicted for interfering with an apprentice in the execution of his duty, and employing his pastoral authority in a manner prejudicial to the colony. It appeared on the trial, that he had remonstrated with Davidson, a deacon of his church, for flogging a fellow-member, who had been adjudged by a magistrate to receive twenty lashes; and as he afterwards neglected to attend public worship, he was, conformably with the established rule, excluded from church fellowship. The jury sustained the charge, but no proceedings ensued. The missionaries investigated the affair, and published a declaration, showing its true character as an insidious attempt against their religious liberty, by preventing the regular exercise of discipline in their churches. In this view, christians at home and the government concurred.*

* Extract from the report of the committee of deputies of the protestant dissenters to the general meeting, on the 28th of December, 1836:—

"Resolved—That this committee have considered with much regret the proceedings that have occurred in the grand court of Jamaica, by the prosecution of the Rev. Henry Clarke Taylor, baptist missionary, for a misdemeanour, as those proceedings appear to violate the principles of religious liberty, which should be everywhere and anxiously maintained; and that this committee apply to his majesty's government to discountenance such persecutions, and to take all measures in their power to prevent their renewal."

The resolution was transmitted to Lord Glenelg. The follow-

The general circumstances of the mission were auspicious; numerous additions to the churches continued to be made, enlarged places of worship built, and new stations occupied. Both Mr. Burchell and Mr. Knibb had given much attention to plans for promoting education. To this subject the former had been stimulated by the suggestions of the friends of religion during his visit to England; and having obtained young men to be prepared as teachers, he undertook lancasterian and sabbath schools. The foundation-stone of a lancasterian institution was laid in Trelawney on the 26th of September, 1835, and the building was reared under the superintendence of Mr. Knibb. The advantages of the institution were to be available to all children, irrespective of the religious denomination of their parents.

In the beginning of the year 1836, Mr. Burchell says that the scene exhibited from sabbath to sabbath carried back the spectators' thought to apostolic times. His own congregation had increased at least one half since the 1st of August, 1834; and he had added between five and six hundred to his church in Spanish Town; of whom many were young and interesting

---

ing is part of his reply, through his secretary:—"His lordship has desired me to acquaint you, that a copy of your note, and of its enclosure, has been forwarded by his lordship to the Marquis of Sligo for his report thereon, accompanied by such instructions as appear to his lordship best calculated to prevent the recurrence of any such invasion of the religious liberty of the dissenters from the established church in Jamaica, as is represented in your communication to have taken place in the case of Mr. Taylor."

characters. Since the establishment of the Sunday school, forty-one scholars had become teachers, who had declared themselves to be the disciples of Christ.

The periodical press, though hostile to the evangelisation of the negroes, could not refrain from bearing testimony to their moral improvement. The close of the year had formerly been distinguished by riotous disorder, but "the Christmas holidays were beginning to be remembered like the emotions of a by-gone dream. In the towns all were quiet; in the rural districts every thing proceeded in admirable order."* "The cage has not had a solitary inmate for some time past. The specials, clerk of the peace, and constables, all declare they have nothing to do. To what a pass things are come! what a contrast to the good old times of guard-keeping, military movements, and John Canooing!"† This was in the precise locality where the mission had a much greater amount of agency, and a larger number of adherents than in any other part of the island; the district of Burchell, Knibb, Dexter, Dendy, and others.

Many fears had been expressed in England, lest admission into the churches had been made too easy, and that discipline was not sufficiently enforced. The chief, if not the only ground of these apprehensions, appears to have been the rapid and extensive increase of members. Nor was the feeling unnatural or unworthy of being regarded as a reason for inquiry. Accordingly, a statement was elicited from Mr. Knibb, which proved highly satisfactory. After describing the very careful

* Cornwall Chronicle. † Falmouth Post.

and personal examination, by himself, of each candidate, and of Mrs. Knibb in addition, of every female, and of the public announcement of the names at a church meeting, allowing the interval of a week for any objections to be reported, he adds;—"Since the first of January, 1835, I have baptized, after having been thus examined, 385 persons, and in referring to the receiving book, containing 305 of their names, I find they have attended as inquirers as follows:—six, for nine years; ten, for eight years; eighty, for seven years; fifty, for six years; forty-seven, for five years; thirty-three, for four years; seventy-six, for three and two years."

Once in the year, the church deputed some of the deacons or other active members, to visit every property where they had members; and the investigations were minute and important, as the reports demonstrate. They are all concluded with the statement—"love prevails." The entire letter sent to England, containing these and other encouraging facts, was read at a church meeting where eight hundred members were present, and unanimously adopted as their own. Similar testimonies were borne by Mr. Phillippo, Mr. Dexter, Mr. Clarke, and others, of their respective communities.

In the month of March, the first meeting of the "Jamaica Baptist Association" was held at Kingston. It occupied three days. The services were well attended; and the spirit of christian harmony and affection exemplary. The number of stations was fifty-two, comprising 13,795 members, of whom upwards of two thousand were added during the year. In the Sunday schools, 3498 children had received instruction;

25 attending daily, and 461, chiefly adults, were taught in the evening schools after the hours of labour. As evidence of the increasing regard paid to the important sanctions of marriage, it appeared that 1457 instances had occurred of its performance by the missionaries.

On the first of July a public meeting was convened at the new metropolitan school room, when Mr. Phillippo presided. Under the superintendence of Mr. Shotton, the valuable character of the institution was clearly manifested. The scholars went through the forms prescribed in their daily course of instruction. The younger class, composed of children from two to five years of age, excited particular attention, from their age, their discipline, and their acquirements. The scholars at large went through a short examination in the general principles of some of the sciences, in grammar, and the knowledge of the derivation and meaning of words. The proceedings of the day gave general satisfaction; and afforded a happy omen of the future condition of the people, when knowledge and religion shall walk hand in hand through the length and breadth of Jamaica.

Mr. Samuel Oughton, who was designated as a missionary in the month of February, after having escaped extreme peril in the channel at the commencement of his voyage, arrived safely with his family in Montego bay, early in July. He assisted, in the same month, at a baptism, when one hundred and seventy were united to Mr. Burchell's church. He reported that two thousand persons assembled at a prayer-meeting, at the early hour of three in the morning;

and "I think," says he, "I never heard petitions so delightfully characterised by simplicity and earnestness, as those offered on that interesting occasion; nor witnessed gratitude so exuberant and overflowing as was displayed by the poor people, while praising God for the temporal and spiritual privileges which they then enjoyed, and to which they were looking forward." The principal sphere of Mr. Oughton's labours included Gurney's Mount and Fletcher's Grove; in both which places were overflowing congregations.

Two events of an affecting description occurred simultaneously on the 12th of July; namely, the death of Mr. Nichols, at Tor in Devonshire, who had been a missionary, first in Jamaica, and then in the Bahamas, and had returned in decayed health; and the death of Mr. Coultart, who had succeeded to his former station. Mr. Coultart had resided in Jamaica longer, by several years, than any of his brethren, having entered upon his labours at Kingston early in 1817. His personal and domestic afflictions were great, and for many years he had to endure much opposition; but the hand of the Lord was with him, and few have been more successful in awakening and converting sinners from the error of their way. In two or three years after he settled at Kingston, he was under the necessity of providing increased accommodation for his numerous hearers; and the spacious premises in East Queen Street, including a chapel capable of seating two thousand persons, a dwelling-house for the minister, and a school for the daily instruction of poor children, were built under his personal superintendence. Subsequently to his last return to Jamaica, he had been

stationed in St. Ann's; whence accounts of his progress and extending efforts were continually reported. But the simple piety, transparent integrity, and warm benevolence of Mr. Coultart, were all insufficient to overcome the rooted prejudices still cherished, in some quarters, against the missionary name and character. The immediate occasion of his decease was the rupture of a blood vessel, consequent upon spasmodic affection. Mr. Clarke of Jericho, who was nearest to Tydenham, hastened thither to conduct the funeral solemnities; and the event was generally noticed, on the following sabbath, in special sermons by the missionaries throughout the island.

In consequence of the decease of Mr. Coultart, Mr. Abbott removed from Lucea, to share with Mr. Clarke in the labours and stations in St. Ann's. The chapel there was advancing, and that at Brown's Town, though it contained a thousand persons, was found much too small.

In the work of Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, entitled "The West Indies in 1837," an unequivocal testimony is borne to the moral power of the missionary undertaking, as exhibited at that period. "Representation," they say, "cannot picture the happy result of these efforts; description can convey no idea of their excellence and magnitude. A few years ago, the negroes were heathen and benighted; now they are to a great extent enlightened and christian. The sabbath, once desecrated, is now devoted to public prayer and thanksgiving, and to the enjoyment of christian communion. A few years ago, education was unknown; now it is making progress under many disadvantages, and waits

but for freedom to become soon more generally diffused than in our own country. The success of missionary labours among the servile population has been general and striking; much has been done, yet more remains to be done. The work requires to be deepened, strengthened, and extended; and we earnestly commend these benefactors of the human race, the missionaries, to the more earnest prayers, the deeper sympathies, and the yet more liberal support of British christians."

The opening of the year was signalised by the afflictive event of the death of Mr. Baylis. He expired on the third of January, after having been engaged on the first in his usual ministerial services. The next day only, he was taken ill, while in the midst of his usefulness, and full of earnestness for the advancement of the cause. He was an enterprising and valued servant of the Society, a faithful and zealous pastor, and an affectionate coadjutor with his fellow missionaries.

Early in the same month, the committee sent Mr. James Reid, of the university of Glasgow, to strengthen the mission in the stations of Vere and Clarendon, in connexion with Mr. Taylor of Old Harbour. At the former of these stations, he had recently received 143 members, and 214 at the latter.

The nett increase in the associated churches in 1837, was 1882; the number of members, 18,720; and of inquirers, 17,781.

Several chapels were opened during the year, with services replete with the deepest interest. Some it may be proper to notice, as specimens of the spirit of the people, and the progress of religion. In March,

the large chapel erected at Montego Bay under the superintendence of Mr. Burchell, was solemnly devoted to the worship of God. In the early part of the morning, meetings to supplicate the blessing of God were held, and the children of the schools, amounting to full two thousand, were addressed by Mr. Oughton. By ten o'clock the number of people so increased, that it was calculated nine thousand were in the old and new chapel, and in the yard and mission premises. Such a scene was never before witnessed. Mr. Abbott delivered a sermon, which was listened to with profound attention; in the afternoon the Lord's supper was administered to full two thousand communicants; and in the evening Mr. Knibb preached.

The dedication of the new chapel in Falmouth on the 16th of April was attended with circumstances of unparalleled interest. Long previously to the dawn of day the streets and avenues of the town were lined with neatly clad apprentices and others from the country repairing to the spot so hallowed and endeared to the hearts of many by the recollections of other days. At six o'clock, several ministers having taken their seats in the chapel, which was at this early hour literally crammed, and the services of the day commenced. Prayers were offered up by Messrs. Dexter and Clarke, and Mr. Abbott delivered an address suited to the occasion. At nine the children belonging to Mr. Knibb's congregation, amounting to at least two thousand, many of whom were, owing to the crowded state of the chapel, and the rush made to the doors by the anxious multitude without, unable to gain admittance, were addressed by Mr. Dendy. With the hope of giving

satisfaction to those who were unavoidably beyond the reach of any one man's voice, the lancasterian school-room was thrown open and immediately filled with persons who were addressed by Mr. Dexter. This additional accommodation being found quite inadequate for the forenoon service, Mr. Knibb applied to the magistrates for the use of the court-house, and his request having been promptly granted, this spacious building, including the piazzas and passages, was speedily crowded to excess: three congregations were formed, and addressed respectively by Messrs. Dendy, Dexter, and Ward. Mr. Vine, independent minister, preached a sermon from Zech. vi. 13; and while thus engaged in the new chapel, Mr. Clark preached in the school-room, and Mr. Abbott under a shed and tent to some hundreds who were unable to find a place in either of the above-mentioned buildings. Thus at the same moment no fewer than six ministers were breaking the bread of life to the several branches of the same congregation in different parts of the town. "To the inhabitants," says a spectator, "the appearance and decorous behaviour of so large a mass of persons of all ages and colours and classes was perfectly astonishing." At the close of the several services of the forenoon, at which it is computed that six thousand persons at least were present, a considerable portion of those who were not members of the church quietly returned to their houses. At three the ordinance of the Lord's supper was administered; Messrs. Oughton and Dexter addressed the communicants, and each of the other ministers present took part in the service. Mr. Oughton, in the absence of Mr. Burchell,

preached to a large and respectable audience; and thus terminated the services of a day which will be remembered by thousands with gratitude and holy joy to the latest period of their existence. The collections and donations received toward liquidating the debt on the chapel, including some small ones from friends to the cause unconnected with the congregation, amounted to £889.

In May, a very neat and substantial edifice, forming a real ornament to the town, was opened at St. Ann's Bay; and notwithstanding heavy and unintermitted rain, vast multitudes crowded the place, and the overflowings occupied the house which had hitherto been used as a temporary sanctuary. Messrs. Knibb, Dendy, and Clarke officiated. The Lord's supper was administered, and eighty-nine persons, who had been baptized in the morning, received into church fellowship.

The 8th of May was mournfully distinguished by the death of Mr. Gardner. His disease was congestive fever, occasioned, in all probability, by exposure to a heavy fall of rain immediately after travelling several hours beneath the unmitigated rays of a burning sun. In day or two, he complained of pains in different parts of his body, and felt quite unwell during his evening service on the following Thursday. He retired from the pulpit to his bed, and left it no more till he was carried to the house appointed for all living. He was in the vigour of youth, only thirty-one years of age, and was removed from an extensive sphere of labour and of usefulness, with which he was just become thoroughly acquainted, and in which his influence was widely felt.

"Until," says Mr. Tinson, "within a few hours of his death, before the disease reached the brain, he was perfectly collected, and spoke of his approaching dissolution with composure. After requesting me to make various memoranda relative to his secular affairs, he endeavoured to comfort and encourage his deeply-afflicted companion, from whom, as her earthly stay and support, he was so soon to be removed; directing her mind to that all-sufficient Saviour, who is a father of the fatherless and a judge of the widow. I said to him, 'Brother, I hope Jesus, whom you have preached to others, is now precious.' He replied, 'Yes, he is; his grace is sufficient for me.' In this solemn dispensation, the church has lost an active and devoted pastor; the widow, a kind and affectionate husband; the helpless orphans, a tender and indulgent parent; and the community, a useful member."

One of the most interesting occurrences of the year was in connexion with the church at Falmouth. After having revolved the matter in his mind, and praying earnestly for divine direction, Mr. Knibb mentioned to his church his conviction of the sinfulness of holding apprentices, who were really slaves, and desired them to think upon the subject. All, excepting three, promised at once to free them; which involved a considerable pecuniary sacrifice on the part of those who were already poor. They assured their pastor that they had long thought of it, but as it was their *all*, they were fearful of not being able to procure food for their children. A firm conviction, however, of the sin, determined them in the self-denying resolution, and their noble example was very extensively imitated.

On this occasion there was one present who might be called *the martyr of joy*. It was William, the son of Mr. Knibb, the intensity of whose sympathies with the oppressed children of Africa, overcame a frame already enfeebled by exertions in their cause; and he sunk under a fever produced by the excess of his delight. This extraordinary youth was only twelve years of age, having been born on the 8th of August, 1825. He had accompanied his father to England, when he repaired thither to represent the wrongs of Jamaica, and the infatuation of the enemies of christianity. He evinced the deepest interest in the mission during his stay, and returned with the family in the autumn of 1834. He gave a very remarkable proof of his zeal for the negroes' improvement, when sent on a visit to his cousin, Mrs. Dexter, during the meeting of the ensuing association at Kingston. Mr. Dexter had resolved, on his return, to attempt some plan of instructing the people at Stewart Town, according to their own eager desire; but to his astonishment, he found that during his absence, William had organised a school on the British system; and under the presidency of this youthful schoolmaster, he beheld thirty tolerably well trained scholars; a number that was speedily doubled. It was not, however, till afterwards, that unequivocal indications of real piety were visible; and this happy appearance presented itself while at Savanna-la-Mar, the scene of his father's former labours, chiefly through the wise and kind assiduities of Mr. and Mrs. Hutchins. In this place, when Mr. Hutchins was prevented by illness, he would often read the Scriptures and give out the hymns in

the worshipping assemblies. From this visit he was summoned home to attend the funeral of his little brother. Decided in religion, he was very active in the Sunday school, ever anxious to promote the improvement of the swarthy race he loved. While in the great congregation, he took a lead in the singing, and played the eolophon, with whose tones his own fine voice sweetly blended.

No sooner was the manumission of the slaves in Mr. Knibb's church determined, than the heart of William leaped for joy; and hastily bounding away from his father, he sketched a British ship in full sail, with the word "LIBERTY" on her flag, chasing two slavers, who were in the act of striking their colours. On the pendant was written, "Slavery must fall." The excitement brought on a fever in the night, in the delirium of which, his rambling words showed a mind filled with ideas of negro emancipation, and the triumphs of humanity, law, and religion. He died on the 25th of July, and was buried in the chapel-yard at Falmouth, amidst the lamentations of many a mourner, fulfilling the language of Job, which Mr. Burchell adopted as the text of his funeral discourse, "he cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down."*

To return to the general narrative. The intelligence from Spanish Town continued to be very cheering; and notwithstanding assistances granted by draughts of members, or separate services in subordinate stations, the whole presented the appearance of a field which

* See "Memoir of William Knibb, son of the Rev. W. Knibb, missionary," &c. By James Hoby, D.D.

the Lord had blessed. One hundred and seventy-six were added to the church in Spanish Town, and one hundred and fourteen to the recently established station of Sligoville. In the district more or less connected with Mr. Phillippo's church were 2191 members, 1900 inquirers, nineteen schools, ten teachers of day and evening schools, twenty young persons in training, fifty-three sabbath school teachers, and 1588 scholars, two native assistants, and six stations.

St. Ann's Bay, Ocho Rios, and Coultart's Grove, had the efficient superintendence of Mr. Abbott. He had given the latter name to a station in a populous part of the interior of the parish called "the Pedro district," about twelve miles from St. Ann's Bay, and fourteen from Ocho Rios, as commemorative of his esteemed predecessor. A strong thatched shed, forty-five feet by twenty-five, was erected there, closed in with wattle and plaster. "I look," says he, "at this humble, unpretending sanctuary with feelings of peculiar interest, when I remember that it owes its existence to the self-denying efforts and praiseworthy zeal of a few apprentices, who voluntarily gave a portion of the little time they could call their own, for several weeks in succession, to rear a house in which the mighty God of Jacob will deign to dwell."

During a considerable part of the year, the labours of Mr. Clarke at Jericho had been interrupted by serious illness; and at one period it was apprehended that he would be compelled to leave the island; but this was prevented by partial restoration. In the time of his affliction and that of his family, he had obtained

valuable assistance from Mr. Merrick and his son Joseph, who conducted the schools.

Mr. Oughton having removed to Lucea, and the urgent necessities of that station and Green Island being thus supplied, Mr. Day succeeded to Gurney's Mount and Fletcher's Grove; at which places, though recently formed, existed a church of four hundred and eighty-six members, and nine hundred and twenty-four inquirers.

Looking at the state of the mission throughout the island, it never before had presented so pleasing an appearance. The missionaries were all diligently at work, and with ever-growing success. But in order to estimate it aright, it is not sufficient to contemplate the gross amount of numbers converted, or missionaries employed. "Perhaps," says one of them, "our friends at home overlook the vast amount of moral agency they keep in operation, by supporting one missionary in this country; and the broad and extensive foundation they lay for carrying on the work in future years. In the support of one missionary, they aid in the erection of permanent buildings, chapels, and school-rooms, and indirectly assist in providing other preachers, school-masters, and instructors. I will just instance my own case. Including myself, there are three of us constantly employed on the sabbath in conducting public services; three school-masters and schoolmistresses in my day schools, six estates' evening schools, (and will soon be eight,) several Sunday-school teachers, and about fifty leaders or catechists. A missionary's house is, moreover, a

depôt for the publications of the Religious Tract Society, as well as for Bibles and Testaments. Although, therefore, Jamaica is such an expensive country to reside in, it may be questioned whether so much agency is made to bear on the kingdom of Satan at a cheaper rate to the supporters of our benevolent institutions, in any part of the world."

THE DAY OF FREEDOM.

Reflection, aided by appalling facts which every channel of communication conveyed to the British public, soon convinced the well-wishers of the slaves and of missions, that in the emancipation act, as it was called, which established the apprenticeship system, slavery did not find a grave but a shelter. The right of property in man was still recognized, and unrequited labour exacted by compulsory means. There are ample proofs that the wrongs and sufferings of humanity in the persons of the negroes were even greater than heretofore; nearly every vestige of their legal rights was trampled under foot, the planters possessed the most absolute control, and the threat of sending for a magistrate was terrible enough to silence every complaint against the basest injustice and cruelty, since they knew too well they would protect—not *them*, but their *oppressors!* * After the seeming concession that was wrung from the national councils, which was ratified

* See "A statement of Facts illustrating the administration of the Abolition Law, and the sufferings of the negro apprentices in the island of Jamaica." Also "A Narrative of events since the first day of August, 1834. By James Williams, an apprenticed labourer in Jamaica."

by the sacrifice of twenty millions of money, it was believed that civil, social, and religious freedom had been secured for the slaves; but the eyes of a deluded people began in a few months to open to the melancholy truth, that British treasure had been squandered, and British legislation evaded or defied. The struggle, therefore, was once more renewed, and the final triumph achieved by the energy, union, and perseverance of abolitionists, in the entire extinction of the negro apprenticeship, and the bestowment of absolute and unconditional liberty. An act was passed to amend the late act of emancipation; and on the first of August 1838, which had been fixed for the deliverance of non-predial slaves only, *all were declared free.* In order to prepare them for this measure, Sir Lionel Smith issued a proclamation in the beginning of July, which while it expressed his personal gratification in anticipating the glorious day of the negro's perfect emancipation, contained important suggestions for the future, which were not lost upon their willing and obedient minds.*

* The following is the proclamation referred to above:—

"PRÆDIAL APPRENTICES!

"In a few days more, you will all become free labourers,—the legislature of the island having relinquished the remaining two years of your apprenticeship.

"The first of August next is the happy day when you will become free—under the same laws as other freemen, whether white, black, or coloured.

"I, your governor, give you joy of this great blessing.

"Remember that in freedom you will have to depend on your own exertions for your livelihood, and to maintain and bring up your families. You will work for such wages as you can agree upon with your employers.

The christian church hailed with inexpressible delight this great sabbath of the slave; and met in every place, to mark it with appropriate celebrations. There was joy without riot; triumph without reproach; multitude without confusion; while religion assumed the undisputed presidency over the soul-exhilarating scene. A few specimens may be selected.

On the last day of July, in the evening, large congregations assembled for the purpose of prayer and praise, at *Salter's Hill* and *Bethtephil*, formerly called *Endeavour*. On the following day, about two thousand five hundred of the labouring population assembled at Salter's Hill, a meeting for prayer and praise was held in the early part of the day, and the people

---

"It is their interest to treat you fairly.

"It is your interest to be civil, respectful, and industrious.

"Where you can agree and continue happy with your old masters, I strongly recommend you to remain on those properties on which you have been born, and where your parents are buried.

"But you must not mistake in supposing that your present houses, gardens, or provision grounds, are your own property.

"They belong to the proprietors of the estates, and you will have to pay rent for them in money or labour, according as you and your employers may agree together.

"Idle people who will not take employment, but go wandering about the country, will be taken up as vagrants, and punished in the same manner as they are in England.

"The ministers of religion have been kind friends to you; listen to them,—they will keep you out of troubles and difficulties.

"Recollect what is expected of you by the people of England, who have paid such a large price for your liberty.

were addressed by their pastor, Mr. Dendy, from Nehem. xii. 42, 43,—"And the singers sang loud, with Jezrahiah, their overseer; also that day, they offered great sacrifices and rejoiced, for God had made them rejoice with great joy; the wives also, and the children rejoiced, so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off." The people were exhorted to act as became freemen; to remember the position in which they now stood, and not disappoint the expectations of their friends. At Bethtephil the congregation was addressed by Mr. Pickton, from the words of the Israelites, upon their being released from the Babylonish captivity,—"The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." On the 2nd, the children, under the care of Mr. Russell, at Bethtephil, enjoyed a day of celebration. They spread along the road as far

---

"They not only expect that you will behave yourselves as the queen's good subjects, by obeying the laws, as I am happy to say you always have done as apprentices; but that the prosperity of the island will be increased by your willing labour, greatly beyond what it ever was in slavery. Be honest toward all men; be kind to your wives and children; spare your wives from heavy field work, as much as you can; make them attend to their duties at home, in bringing up your children, and in taking care of your stock; above all, make your children attend divine service and school.

"If you follow this advice, you will, under God's blessing, be happy and prosperous.

"Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Saint Jago de la Vega, this ninth day of July, in the first year of her majesty's reign, annoque Domini, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight.

"LIONEL SMITH."

as the Chatham intersection, bearing the banners of "August the First, 1838,"—"This is the day of Jubilee,"—"Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God,"—"Freedom."

On the 3rd, at Salter's Hill, the children, to the number of five hundred and fifty-two, assembled for the purpose of commemorating the day. The chapel was tastefully decorated with branches of palm-trees, fruits, and flowers. A hymn being sung, preparations were made for the burial of slavery. The whip, the chain, and the shackle, were separately produced, and the question asked, "What is to be done with the old slave-whip?" "Cut it up," was the reply. It was done. "What with the chain?" "Break it." This was also done. "What with the shackle?" "To be destroyed." After each was exhibited, three enthusiastic cheers were given, that they were no longer liable to the evils of slavery, but released from its terrors. The question being asked, what was to be done with the remains of slavery, "Bury them, bury them," was the universal cry. "Where?" "On Salter's Hill?" "No!"—"Yes!" "No; we will not have the remains of slavery so near us." However, this was overruled by its being remarked, that Salter's Hill would be the most appropriate place, as its grave could be watched, so as to prevent its rising again. The emblems were carried to the hole dug for them, and consigned for ever to the dust.

At *Brown's Town* a meeting was held in the chapel on the night of the 31st. Hymns of praise were sung, and prayer offered by the deacons of the church; after which Mr. Clarke delivered a brief historical sketch of the rise and fall of West Indian slavery. Just before

the midnight hour, the large assemblage knelt down, and in solemn silence supplicated the blessing of God on the freedom they anticipated. A few minutes after twelve, all arose and lifted up their voices in a song of praise to Him who had broken the chains of slavery. The ordinance of the Lord's supper was then administered to the members of the church.

On the morning of the 1st, another numerously attended meeting was held, when a sermon was preached by Mr. Clarke, from Psalm cxviii. 25,—"O Lord, I beseech thee send now prosperity." An address to the governor was read, and unanimously adopted. It was then resolved to commemorate the total abolition of slavery, by making a large addition to the chapel, so as to accommodate the many hundreds who every sabbath day were unable to obtain admission to hear the word of God. To accomplish this object, the members and inquirers of the church resolved to set apart the first-fruits of their free labour, and thus express their gratitude to the "God who had done such great things for them."

The next day, the children of the Sunday school joined in a commemorative festival, and each child was presented with a book from the London Religious Tract Society.

On the 3rd, and following day, services were conducted at *Bethany* (Upper Dry Harbour Mountains.) A very large congregation assembled in and around the temporary place of worship. A sermon was preached by Mr. Clarke, from Ezra ix. 9,—"We were bondmen; yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us." It was resolved to

erect, as soon as possible, a large substantial chapel as a monument to commemorate the total abolition of slavery. Contributions for this purpose were immediately given in by the emancipated negroes, to the amount of £240. On the following day, a united meeting of the wesleyan and baptist congregations was held in the wesleyan place of worship.

At *Trelawney*, on the evening previous to the *glorious morn*, several hundreds of persons from the country repaired to their respective places of worship. Over the front gate of the baptist chapel, was raised a transparency, having the inscription FREEDOM, brilliantly illuminated. The wesleyan and baptist chapels were lighted up, and soon filled with their respective congregations. At the latter, just as the clock struck eleven, Mr. Knibb announced for singing a few verses of a dirge composed for the occasion, commencing thus:—

" The death-blow is struck—see the monster is dying,
He cannot survive till the dawn streaks the sky;
In one single hour, he will prostrate be lying,
Come, shout o'er the grave where so soon he will lie."

Portions of Scripture were read, and several then slaves, though nominally apprentices, offered prayer and thanksgiving to God. For a few moments before twelve, perfect silence reigned; when Mr. Knibb commenced a few remarks. It is impossible to describe adequately the scene that followed; every eye glistened, every bosom heaved with emotion. As the clock struck, Mr. Knibb begged the congregation, more than two thousand in number, to listen—" *The*

hour is at hand," said he, "*the monster is dying!*" As the twelfth peal vibrated, he exclaimed—"THE MONSTER IS DEAD! THE NEGRO IS FREE! THREE CHEERS FOR THE QUEEN!" At the moment when the last word was spoken, and the clock had struck the last stroke, they simultaneously rose up, and broke out into one loud and long-continued burst of exultation and joy. "Never," says Mr. Knibb, "did I hear such a sound: the winds of freedom appeared let loose—the very windows shook at the strange, yet sacred joy." The congregation then sung the hymn:—

> "Restored the negro's long-lost rights,
> How softened is his lot!
> Now sacred, heart-born, dear delights
> Shall bless his humble cot."

About half-past five in the morning, a large assemblage of persons collected near the Suffield schoolroom, when a coffin, containing a chain, handcuffs, iron collar, &c., "the hateful ensigns of usurped command," were produced, and lowered into a hole dug for the purpose, whilst the following verse was sung:—

> "Now *Slavery* we lay thy vile form in the dust,
> And buried for ever, there let it remain;
> And rotted, and covered with infamy's rust,
> Be every man-whip, and fetter, and chain!"

At this ceremony, the flag of FREEDOM, with the British union jack at the corner of it, was hoisted up to the top of a high mast, and the people gave three hearty cheers.

On one side of the coffin, was painted in large letters "*Cornwall Courier,*" on the other side, "*Jamaica Standard.*" On the plate was inscribed "Colonial Slavery died July 31st, 1838, aged 276 years;" and on the lower part the name of "Sir John Hawkins," who first brought Africans into the colonies as *slaves.* At the head of the coffin was planted a young cocoa-nut tree, the token of victory, whose speedy growth will soon cause its lofty branches to wave over the emblems of cruel tyranny. At the planting of the *tree of liberty,* the people again gave three hearty cheers.

At the usual hour of divine service, the several places of worship were opened, and each one was crowded with a devout and grateful congregation who assembled to return thanks to Almighty God for the extinction of colonial slavery.

At the baptist chapel, Mr. Ward read and prayed, and Mr. Knibb preached from Nehemiah xii. 42, 43; at the wesleyan chapel, Mr. Ritchie delivered a discourse founded on Hebrews vii. 25; and at the kirk, Mr. Thorborn dilated on 1 Kings xx. 11. The thanksgiving service being ended, a public meeting was held at the baptist chapel, at which all the speakers except Mr. Knibb, who was in the chair, were descendants of Africans.

"The meeting was convened," said the chairman, "for the purpose of not merely expressing their united thanks to Almighty God for the boon of freedom which they were that day in the enjoyment of, but also of recording that expression of gratitude, and of extending it to those whom God had honoured in making them

the instruments in his hands of doing his will. A set of resolutions embracing these objects was read, and then proposed *seriatim*, by speakers in the following order:—

Mr. Richard Brown.—"This resolution I hold in my hand is to express thanks to God for the gospel. I am thankful to Almighty God, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, who was rich, but he became poor that through his poverty we might be rich, who came from heaven to enlighten the earth with the light of righteousness. I praise the Father, I praise the Son, I praise the Holy Ghost; I praise God for the gospel,—the gospel is truth, and the truth shall make us free."

Mr. Andrew Dickson.—"I stand here for the purpose of seconding this resolution. I do truly thank God for the light of the everlasting gospel. I present my thanks to the people of England for the gospel. I know that once I was blind, but I thank God, that I now see; I do offer my sincere thanks to the Lord Jesus Christ for his blessed gospel, and I call on all my brethren here to do the same."

Mr. William Kerr.—"I stand up to give hearty thanks to the people of England for send us the gospel. The gospel bring we to see this day, the gospel bring we free. No one can tell what we see one time, and what we was suffer; but the gospel bring us joy. We bless God, we bless the queen, we bless the governor, we bless the people of England for the joy we have. Let we remember that we been on sugar estate from sunrise a-morning till eight o'clock at night; the rain falling, the sun shining, we was in it all. Many of we own colour behind we,

and many before: we get whip, our wives get beat like a dog, before we face, and if we speak we get the same; they put we in shackle; but thank our heavenly Father we not slave again!"

Mr. William Smithson—"My dear friends, we did not expect to see this day, but God has spared us to see it. If it was not for the gospel, the freedom would not have come. The people of England, who did not know us, cared for our poor immortal souls, and send us the gospel, and they send us ministers to preach the gospel to us. We pray for better freedom, for that good part which shall never be taken from us. We pray God that we and we ministers may be together in heaven, where shall praise God for ever."

Mr. William Gibson.—"My good friends, brethren and sisters, we truly thank God for this opportunity we have to praise his name. We cannot forget that you and I had not such a blessing at one time. We remember when we had none to feed us, when we were persecute because we pray; but remember what God says about Zion. He will not leave her nor forsake her,—and must we forsake God? No: we must thank God for freedom, we must thank the people of England for freedom. Let us pray that our brothers and sisters in other lands may be made free, and let us look for a better freedom; if we do not be free from sin, we shall be slaves in hell for ever."

Mr. Thomas Reid.—"I thank God for this day, I thank God for freedom. I remember the time of persecution. Brown and black, all say dis religion will soon come to an end. Yes, Mr. Henry said, he hoped they had shot them fellows, for we ministers; they

drive them away, but the gospel return. We thank God for the glorious light which we eye see."

Mr. Richard Kerr.—"I will say, thanks be to God for the freedom which the gospel bring. God have feeling heart, God send the gospel and missionaries into the world; without the gospel, the world is in darkness. The first time the gospel come, it give we light; the second time it come, it give we light and freedom."

Mr. Edward Barrett.—"My good friends, we are meet together here to show our gratitude to a certain gentleman and the people of England, who felt for us when we did not feel for ourselves. We have been made to stand up and see our wives flogged, and we could not help them. The people of England did not see us, but God see us, and God stir up their hearts to get us freedom, and now we are all free people! What shall we say? Let us lift our hearts and bless God; let us bless queen Victoria: yes, kings did sit on the throne, but kings did not make we free; no, that was left for a woman to do; when kings could not do it, Victoria did. When we lie down in the cool shade, must we not raise up our hearts and hands to almighty God for the blessings he gives us? The overseers and the bookkeepers say the ships will come from England, and go back with nothing but ballast; but I say to them, 'Look out; we shall have more to send home than we ever had; sugar, pimenta, ginger, and coffee.' Another thing I have to say is, that not long ago there were two particular gentlemen who came to see how the apprenticeship work (Messrs. Sturge and Harvey). They laid out so much money to

buy we free, and they came themselves to see us whether we free or no. They come out to see what them magistrates doing that they send out; they reported the wicked ones: some of them very good magistrates, and some of them very devils. And now, my friends, ought we not to throw up something to support we church, and support the gospel? Let the good friends in England see that Jamaica can now support its own ministers."

Mr. George Prince of Wales.—"My dear friends, this is the day for us to rejoice. I hope we shall never do any thing to put our friends to shame. Walk upright. Remember it is your duty to support our pastor, his wife, and his children; if you do not support religion, you are not worthy of religion."

Mr. John White.—"My dear free brothers, the ladies of England heard of us that were living under the cursed chain of slavery. We cannot see them, they cannot see us; but there are many ladies here to-day who, with the kind ladies in England, have done great things for us. And now they expect to hear something good of us; we must try to behave ourselves as other ladies and gentlemen in this island do. Let us ask that Redeemer who sits on his throne, for grace to behave ourselves. Let us show the people in England that more sugar can be made by free ladies and gentlemen than was made by slaves. Let us be kind to our ladies. Let the friends in England hear something worthy of us."

Mr. Thomas Gardner.—"My dear brothers and sisters, now the black man can unite with the white: no distinctions now, only of character. If any man

will not behave himself, he is not free yet. O may the whole multitude in Jamaica bless God, and thank the people of England for freedom. I rejoice I am slave no more, and you are slaves no more,—Jamaica is slave no more. Amen."

Mr. James Wallace.—"My christian friends, a resolution is placed in my hand, I thank God. The first resolution that was placed in my hands was when I was a little boy; that resolution was a *hoe*. They put a hoe into my hand to go and clean grass. I remember crying because they put it into my hand to work with; but I was a slave. But now, thanks be to God, my christian friends, I am free, and another resolution is placed in my hand; it is in black and white; and though I may not be able to read it myself, I have a little boy at the school, and he can read it for me. I was told, when I took Christ to be my friend, I would become a beggar; but, my christian friends, the gospel make me work better than I ever did before I embraced it. The gospel was a light before me. We seldom have the opportunity to meet together, only on the sabbath; but this is not the sabbath, it is the day of joy and gladness. Remember your children, my christian friends. We must support our minister and our schools. We must not work on the Sabbath day; must take our minister's advice, do our master's work, and attend to our grounds. Some people say the gospel will make us poor, and that we give all our money to the minister: it is not so. These people don't remember that they had our bodies to satisfy their soul, but never looked after our souls; no, our ministers did that, and we must not forget them. Let us endeavour, my christian

friends, to train up ourselves and our children to good conduct. 'Every tree is known by its fruit,' and every one will judge of us by our conduct."

Mr. M'Laughlin.—"I would ask, what would be liberty,—what would be freedom without religion? Look round to the heathen world,—they are free, they are at liberty; but are they conscious of the liberty which you feel? We are truly thankful, I trust, for the gospel, and we ought to be very thankful for ministers of the gospel. Dark, dark, dark, indeed, would be this world without the light of the gospel. Blessed be God, that he had sent us ministers to preach the gospel to us. We ought to show our gratitude for the blessings of the gospel. How? By coming forward as men to do what freemen do. We speak about freedom,—I rejoice with you on this occasion; but let us not be satisfied with the freedom purchased with English gold,—let us seek that freedom purchased by the precious blood of Christ."

On the 2nd, the town was again thronged with hundreds of youth, who repaired to the Suffield schoolroom, whence, about ten o'clock, upwards of a thousand scholars issued in grand procession, under the direction of their several teachers. The train was preceded by a carriage, in which were six children, sons and daughters of ministers, drawn by two horses gaily caparisoned. One caparison had emblazoned on it, "LIBERTY TO THE SLAVE;" the other had, "THE DAY OF JUBILEE." Four banners were displayed by the children: one with the inscription, "The chain is broken," with the representation of a broken chain; another had, "Africa is free, August, 1838;" a third had "Holy Bible,"

encircled by a wreath of laurel; and the fourth had, "Infant School," circumscribing a small house. The main body of the procession, which occupied almost a whole street, was enlivened by numerous banners.

When they arrived at the baptist chapel, the gallery was completely filled with youth. The chapel was tastefully decorated with branches of trees, with flowers, and with the pictures of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, &c. Several ladies and gentlemen were present, and the lower part of the chapel was crowded by parents and friends, whose glistening eyes bespoke the inward delight of their souls. Mr. Knibb delivered a suitable address; after which, the children returned in order to the school-room, the whole play-ground of which was covered with boards, and beautifully adorned with boughs, branches, sugar-canes, pictures, festoons, Scripture prints, cloth prints, and a variety of other ornaments. Portraits of her majesty the queen, and the venerable Thomas Clarkson, both encircled with wreaths of flowers, were placed in the most conspicuous situations, the flag of freedom waving over all, from the long staff, to the top of which it was hoisted. Tables were provided for a thousand children, who sat down to an ample banquet. Nothing could exceed the order, cleanliness, and general appearance of so many children, several hundreds of whom had only the day before emerged from slavery.

On the 3rd, a procession was formed at Wilberforce station, which proceeded to Oxford estate, where, seated on the green sward, under the wide-spread branches of a tamarind tree, the children, near six hundred in number, surrounded by their parents and

friends, received an address from Mr. Ward; and there they kneeled and prayed to the God and Father of all their mercies, whose bounties were as freely bestowed on them as the air they breathed. After experiencing the hospitality of Mr. Philpotts, the overseer of Oxford, the children returned in order to Wilberforce, "making the welkin ring" with their loud huzzas and cheers. There they enjoyed their freedom's festival with great glee, during which a tree of liberty was planted by E. B. Lyon, Esq., who expatiated on the topic of civil liberty.

A similar procession of between two and three hundred scholars was next day organised near Waldensia station, which, with banners flying, proceeded from the intersection of Forest estate to the chapel, which was decorated with considerable taste. An address was delivered by Mr. Knibb to a congregation of young and old that filled the chapel; after which a beautiful young palm, as a tree of liberty, was planted by Mrs. M. Nichols and Miss Kitching, not far from the foundation-stone of the chapel; where three hearty cheers were given.

And what christian heart does not even now respond to those acclamations, which one seems still to hear, as imagination renews the scenes and the sounds of that glorious day? Superior worlds might look upon those vast assemblies with commingling pleasure; and future ages will rejoice to read the story of the conflicts and victories of noble principles, attested in the blended congratulations of the givers and receivers of heaven's noblest birthright, and legislation's richest boon,—*civil, religious, and universal* FREEDOM.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BAHAMAS, BELIZE, AND SOUTH AFRICA.

In January, 1833, Mr. and Mrs. Burton embarked at Port Royal for the Bahamas, and in a few days arrived at Nassau in New Providence. The object of this visit was twofold,—to try the effect of a change of air on the declining health of Mrs. Burton, and to examine the state of the baptist churches in those islands. The population was supposed to amount to about 16,500; of whom 4200 were whites, 3000 free coloured persons, and the remainder slaves. About one third of the whole number resided in the town of Nassau. The number of baptist churches was considered to be about twenty in all the islands, and they manifested an earnest desire to receive further religious instruction.

Mr. Burton was received with the greatest cordiality, not only by the various congregations of his own denomination, who regarded his visit as an answer to their prayers for some one to come and teach them the way of the Lord more perfectly, but by the resident clergyman and the wesleyan missionaries, the latter of whom had been proposing among themselves to request such a visit. The governor gave Mr. Burton full permission to preach any where, both in New Providence and the adjacent islands, avowing his

thankfulness that any ministers of the gospel would come thither and undertake such arduous duties.

The black people generally were in a most benighted state, though there was much profession of religion. The wesleyans had been there nearly twenty years labouring with some success among the white inhabitants and some of the respectable people of colour; but had done exceedingly little among the black population. At the close of the American war, proprietors with slaves left the United States, and received land in the West Indies. Many of these proprietors settled in the Bahamas, and among the slaves they brought many were baptists. They collected congregations, and continued worship; but not being able to read, and not having any one who cared about teaching them, though their numbers increased, their knowledge and piety diminished. "I never met with one of them," says Mr. Burton, "able to read a chapter correctly; and the first prayer which I heard offered by one of the members of one of the most influential churches in the colony was partly offered to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob! It pleased God, however, to dispose them to welcome me, and to welcome religious instruction."*

It soon appeared, however, that a single missionary was insufficient; and in November Mr. Milner Pearson was sent to aid Mr. Burton. Mr. Nichols also had gone from Jamaica for this purpose, in connexion with the hope of restoring his health; but he was compelled to abandon the West, and return to his native land. Two of the churches in Nassau, were, at their

* Letter to the author.

own request, formed afresh after dissolution; and into one fifty-two, into the other fifty-three, including some recently baptized, were received after close examination. Mr. Burton and Mr. Pearson visited several of the islands, and were well received by the planters, particularly at Exuma, where the latter found the people desirous of further instruction, and deeply deploring their privation of religious ordinances. He afterwards went to St. Salvador and Turk's Island; but his valuable life was terminated by a fever in the month of December. Mr. Ebenezer Quant afterwards proceeded to Nassau to supply his place. Mr. Bourne, also, was directed by the committee to remove from Belize to the mission in the Bahamas; but subsequently his connexion with the Society was dissolved in consequence of moral delinquencies; Mr. Alexander Henderson of Hemyock, Devon, being sent to occupy his station at Belize.

In 1835, both Mr. Burton and Mr. Quant were attacked by frequent illness, which prevented excursions to the smaller islands so frequently as they desired; still many were visited, and everywhere their reception was most favourable. They found the people entirely ignorant of christianity, but willing to receive instruction; and upon ten of the islands twenty-three churches were constituted, comprising 540 members. The following summary will give a general view of the state of this branch of the mission.

Turk's Islands. About the middle of the year, Mr. Quant went to reside at Grand Key, Turk's Islands, where his exertions were blessed. At Grand Key the congregation was numerous, and the church

had received a clear increase of fifty-eight, including the addition that was made when the station was visited in the early part of the year. The sabbath school formed since Mr. Quant settled there, prospered, having about 135 children.

The *Caicos Islands* had been visited twice since Mr. Quant settled at Turk's Island. The word was preached at almost every settlement; two sabbath schools were commenced.

Heneagua was visited in May, when a church was formed consisting of sixteen members.

Rum Key was visited in January and May. The church on the north side had greatly needed assistance and guidance. There was necessarily renewed attention to the importance of some one being stationed on the island. There had been fourteen members added to the church on the south side, and thirty to that on the north side of the island. The two sabbath schools were continued, and that on the north side had received the assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Whitehead.

St. Salvador was visited in October and November. Mr. Pearson had previously been there; but sickness at the time prevented him from travelling, and almost hindered him from preaching. On his second journey, most of the settlements in the island were visited. The people heard the word gladly, and expressed much thankfulness for it. Many of them were found very ignorant. After repeated examinations forty-one were baptized, who, with thirty-one others previously baptized, were formed into four churches. Golden Grove had twenty-eight members; Tennan Hill, eight; Pigeon

Bay, twenty; and Prospect Bluff, sixteen. A sabbath school was commenced at each of these stations.

Long Island was visited in January and February. For years before, there had not been any one to preach the word of God to the people. Some of the white, as well as many of the black and coloured population, had never heard a sermon before in their lives; and very many of them were utterly ignorant of Christ, though they had heard him named. Several baptist societies existed throughout the island, among which there were some who knew something of the Saviour, and who appeared to rejoice when they were told more of him. The word of the gospel was received by some with devout thankfulness. Through the kind assistance of the inhabitants, and especially of the different branches of Mrs. Rahming's family, almost every settlement was visited. Many were married who had never before had an opportunity; and churches were formed in the north district, at Mr. Adderley's place, consisting of ten members; in the middle district, at Mr. Millar's, consisting of five; and in the south, at Great Harbour, consisting of fourteen.

Ragged Island was visited in February. In the recollection of the oldest inhabitants the gospel had never been preached there before by any minister. The baptist society, though consi 'erable in number, was in a very deplorable state. The word of God was, however, heard by most of the people on the island with great attention. Through the accommodation which Mr. Wilson afforded to the missionary, he was able to stay long enough to marry a great number who were

desirous of being so united. A church was formed, consisting of twenty-four members; and a sabbath school was begun which has since received the constant assistance of Mrs. Wildgoos. Two of the members had been separated from the church.

Eleuthera was visited in April and May. At Tarpum Bay, there were four added to the church, and one was excluded from it. At Governor's Harbour, there had generally been a good attendance. Six had been added to the church during the year, including one who had been received in Nassau.

At the Bogue and Current, one who had been excluded in the preceding year, had during the last year been restored to the church, and two others added. At the Cove a small church had been formed, consisting of seven members.

Exuma was visited in July and August. Two years before, Mr. Pearson scattered the good seed through this island; and in almost every place it had been springing up, and bearing a rich harvest. In several populous parts, feasting, and dancing, and drunkenness, had given place to the worship of God. Many spoke of the great change which had taken place since Mr. Pearson's short stay among them; and were very desirous that they might be visited very often if it was not possible for a missionary to be stationed among them. The people were hungering for the bread of life. Ninety-one persons were received on this occasion; and added to the seven whom Mr. Pearson had previously received. These ninety-eight were formed into two churches,—one at Stephenton, for the principal part of Great Exuma, having in it seventy-five

members; and the other at Little Exuma, having twenty-three members, for the Salt Ponds and Hog Key. A sabbath school was begun at Stephenton.

Andros Island was visited in December. To the church at Quarter Master there were seventeen added. As the inhabitants of that part of the island particularly needed some one to teach them and their children to read, an application signed on behalf of sixty-two persons was prepared that it might be sent to the Board of Education, requesting that a school might be established among them. The church at Conk Sound had been in a disordered state for some time; there were, however, some who had been seriously attending to the word of God; and though one of the members was excluded from the church, there were seven persons added to it. To the small but united church in Secunder Symonet's house at Blanket Sound, two were added. To the church at Fresh Creek three were added.

In *Nassau* the work of the Lord had been gradually advancing throughout the year, though often they had to mourn over the sins or the negligence of those whose conduct had been irregular. As many as sixteen had been excluded from .the church during the year. There had been an increase in most of the classes, and a hundred and forty-eight added to the church. Two additional sabbath schools had been established during the year,—one at Grant's Town, and the other at the New Chapel. The commencement of these two had necessarily lessened the number of children in the Old Chapel sabbath school; but all of them exhibited symptoms of prosperity and usefulness. The general

attendance at the three sabbath schools was about 250. Much concern had been felt for the salvation of the young; as was evinced by the special prayer-meetings and the class-meetings held for them, and the manner in which they were remembered in the regular prayer-meetings. A number had been added to the church, and many others were desirous of union with it. In the month of August the new chapel was opened for the worship of God. The cost of this building, including the purchase of land, was about £1000 sterling, of which not quite £100 remained unpaid.

To the small church at *Good Hope Hill* three were added during the year. The sabbath school was regularly taught by Mr. James Rutherford, and had in it about thirty children. The members of the church and some friends in the neighbourhood had for the last few months been engaged in building a chapel there, giving their time and labour to this object as opportunities occurred.

The church at *Carmichael Village* had received an addition of seven during the year. Their sabbath school consisted of thirty-five. The minds of some in this small church had been deeply impressed with a sense of the duty of humbly seeking an increase of their number by the conversion of sinners around them. They lamented their want of prosperity, and made a covenant among themselves that both in private and public they would earnestly seek the mercy of God for their neighbours. Already four had since that period been added to the church.

Most of these small churches manifested their pious zeal for God in sending contributions to the mission,

each according to its ability; and upon the whole there appeared cause for gratitude and motive to effort, in their general condition.

BELIZE.

The church at Belize, under the care of Mr. Brown, continued in a state of external peace and union; and though undistinguished by great enlargement, had opened two small places of worship in two villages, with a sabbath-school attached to each. Subsequently, upon his removal to Nassau, his successor, Mr. Henderson, who laboured diligently on the spot, and in excursions into the interior, enjoyed considerable success. The congregation at Belize soon doubled in number, while several schools were established, and prospered. This happy state of things continued in 1835 and 1836; and the settlement seemed to derive spiritual benefit from the temporal chastisement of cholera, many of the hardened and the reprobate being driven to the house of God. In a journey to Bacalar, a large town in the neighbouring settlement, Mr. Henderson had opportunities of circulating many copies of the Scriptures in the Spanish language, and was generally well received. In 1837, the schools were attended by upwards of two hundred children daily, but with the double disadvantage of a want of sufficient room and adequate assistance. A Spanish gentleman from Guatimala went to Belize to ascertain whether Mr. Henderson could receive and educate his son, being quite disposed to forego his catholic prejudices; and three individuals of the same nation were, with thirteen others, united to the church, whose

numbers then amounted to sixty. From their contributions and schools nearly £200 sterling were subscribed towards the expense of the mission. In March, a competent assistant was sent over for the schools, Mr. Henry Philpot, of Canterbury, who had studied the British system of education at the Borough Road school. After entering upon his work with holy zeal, and endearing himself to all his friends by his amiable deportment and pious spirit, he was removed by death, four months only after his arrival.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Some urgent representations having been made to the committee by persons connected with the baptist denomination at Graham's Town, in the district of Albany, South Africa, seconded by missionaries of other societies, it was resolved, in 1831, to attempt the establishment there of a missionary station; and Mr. W. Davies, pastor of the church in Lake Lane, Portsea, devoted himself to the undertaking. A considerable time elapsed before he could obtain a vessel to Algoa Bay. At length he embarked with his family on board the *Eclipse*, in January, 1832; but having been wrecked in April, off one of the Cape de Verd islands, under circumstances of peculiar distress, he returned to England, but with the steady purpose of resuming his voyage as soon as practicable. This he was able to do early in the ensuing summer, and arrived in September at Table Bay. From Cape Town he proceeded to Algoa Bay, where he commenced his labours with pleasing hope of success.

Fourteen members were added to the infant church

in November, 1833; and a Sunday school of a hundred children, was formed under competent teachers, most of them members of the church. Mr. Davies experienced much countenance and friendship from ministers and people of various denominations previously settled at Graham's Town; and began, with promising appearances, a subordinate station at Kareiga, or Karega, sixteen miles distant. Some encouraging progress was made, till, at the close of 1834, it was checked by the invasion of a numerous horde of Caffres, who committed great devastation. Mr. Davies and his family, however, were preserved, and some time afterwards, he erected a small place of worship at Karega. In November, 1836, he suffered a severe domestic bereavement, in the death of his wife. In 1837, he resumed his visits to the Karega station, and was encouraged by the prospect that presented itself at that place. The state of his own church also, was pleasing. Fourteen were prepared for admission at the close of the year; of whom two or three were young persons of thirteen years of age.

In the spring of 1838, Mr. Davies died in peace, after having suffered for some time a declining state of health. In the last letter he wrote to the secretary, he refers to recent manifestations of a revival of religion in the church and congregation; especially to a hallowed excitement among the young people. The excellent state of his own mind will be seen in the following extract:—"For two months I have not been able to preach. . . . If it is the will of God, I should like to live a few years longer for the sake of my children, and of our little church, in the welfare of

which I feel much interested. But I would lie passive in the hand of God: he is not to me an unknown God; I have committed my all into his hand. Year after year, he has been to me 'good, immensely good;' and I can truly say that 'all his ways are love.' I am not conscious of any remains of enmity against him: I love him; yes, I think I can say, if I love any thing, I love our most merciful God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Yet I thoroughly feel my unworthiness; I would humble myself before him in dust and ashes; with Job, I know—I feel that 'I am vile.' Living and dying, I would be found lying at the foot of the cross, 'looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.' Let me have an interest in your prayers that 'to me to live may be Christ, and to die gain.'"

At the earnest solicitation of the church, another pastor was sent them, the Rev. George Aveline of Maidstone, who, having left England in September, arrived in Graham's Town about the end of the year.

PART IV.

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE RESTORATION OF UNION IN THE SOCIETY, AND OF NEGRO FREEDOM, TO THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE MISSION.

The progress of the Society, in the various branches of its operations, has now been traced from its commencement to an important crisis in its concerns, both in the East and West. A few more years only remain to complete the period of the intended narrative; and it is proposed to introduce the detail of events in such a manner, that the history shall advance in distinct lines converging in the year of Jubilee. The reader will thus be enabled to take a clear and comprehensive view of the mission, in the several quarters of the globe where it has fixed its standard.

CHAPTER I.

THE EAST INDIES.

When a comparison has been drawn between the operations of the mission in the East and West Indies, it has been frequently to the disadvantage of the

former; so that the public mind, attracted by the splendid successes of the missionary and anti-slavery operations in Jamaica, seemed, for a long period, to be *cooling* in interest and sympathy with regard to the East. This was the more to be lamented, not only on account of that country being the primary seat of the mission abroad, and having for a long succession of years attracted universal attention by the unparalleled exertions of Carey and others, but also because the amount of good accomplished, though different in kind, was perhaps equal in degree to that of any part of the great undertaking. The results of labour were more immediate, more rapid, and, if it may be so expressed, more personal in the West Indies than in the East, as made known in converted thousands and tens of thousands, and in the far-resounding victories over slavery; while in India, the work was, and still is, in a measure preparatory and prospective, as traceable in the cultivation of native talent, the extermination of native and European prejudice against the gospel, the improvement of the young, the diminution of the power of idol gods and their advocates over the popular mind, and above all, in the circulation of translated portions of the sacred Scriptures among the teeming myriads of Asia, in their vernacular languages.

And this consideration leads to the mention of the very important visit of the Rev. W. H. Pearce to his native land. His presence, soon after his arrival, on the platform at the anniversary meeting of the Society in 1837, produced emotions of deep and universal interest; while the immediate cause of his temporary withdrawment from the sphere of action was sufficiently

apparent in his feeble and debilitated appearance. Unable to take a public part in the proceedings of the day, and subsequently incapacitated, for many months, from much of physical or even of mental exertion, he nevertheless employed himself most beneficially, in first preparing an appeal on behalf of India, both for men and money, and then following it up by personal applications for the needful supply. In that appeal the subject was presented in a lucid and impressive manner; in sufficient detail to impart information, and yet with an adequate brevity and condensation to ensure effect. From these pages may be gained a comprehensive view of the general state of the Indian department of the mission at the time. He claimed attention to the circumstances of his brethren, especially in Calcutta and the neighbourhood, and urged the critical state of the people.

With regard to the first point, he remarked that the "Calcutta brethren," as they were called, did not confine their labours to the city and its immediate suburbs, for some of them extended to thirty or fifty miles beyond. Without dwelling on other labours, he referred particularly to those of a more direct missionary character which were performed at the time of his departure. "At the end of last year, they had under their pastoral care distinct churches of native brethren in Calcutta, Chitpur, and Howrah, as well as at Lakyantipore and Khari. They were occupied in daily services to the heathen in the native languages, in Calcutta and its vicinity, as well as at fairs, markets, and other assemblies, held at numerous villages near our distant country stations. They had under their

care two most promising boarding schools, on the plan of the American brethren at Ceylon, containing respectively nearly fifty boys and forty girls, all the children of native christians, who are boarded and clothed, as well as educated, at the institution. They superintend a very flourishing seminary for Hindoo youth, in which there are no less than two hundred and fifty boys and young men, receiving an excellent education in English as well as Bengalee.' They have also under instruction two distinct classes of catechists, as students for the native ministry; some converted in middle life, who are diligently instructed in their own language; and others, pious youths who have been educated at the boarding school in English, and are afterwards supplied with additional instruction on theological subjects. The first class are designed for usefulness in villages, and among the great mass of the population; while the latter will be prepared to labour, and defend the truth, when necessary, in the city, among the better educated part of their countrymen. Both classes are instructed to preach fluently in Bengalee. The efforts of the brethren in the translation of the Scriptures, are important and responsible. Missionaries of all denominations have adopted their version of the Bengalee Testament, and have affectionately urged them to further exertions in this department; and they have now to carry through the press a new version of the Old Testament, just translated, and are pledged to the publication, as soon as possible, of the whole Scriptures with marginal references in the same language. They are also preparing a version of the New Testament in Sungskrit, the learned language of the Hindoos, and in

Hindostanee, the dialect most extensively spoken by the mahometans, throughout Hindostan. Desirous to aid the usefulness of the Religious Tract Society and the American Sunday School Union, they are engaged in translating and carrying through the press various tracts and larger religious works, to be printed at the expense of those excellent institutions. In addition to the above, the brethren have the management of a large printing office, in which upwards of a hundred persons are employed in casting types, and in printing and binding useful and religious works in various languages. At this establishment, thousands of gospels, and above two hundred thousand tracts and school books, have been lately printed every year; and by means of its labours, considerable pecuniary aid is afforded to the benevolent operations of the mission."

Mr. Pearce adverted, also, to the earnest solicitude which he and his brethren felt for the extension of the cause, as well as for the maintenance of operations then in progress. He mentioned especially the *upper provinces of India*; in which vast district of country were only three missionaries, considerably distant from each other, and each of these having the care of an English church and congregation, which would of course restrict his direct purposes of usefulness among the heathen. One station at least, therefore, seemed desirable in which preaching to the heathen, efficient day schools for their youth, boarding schools for the children of native christians, and systematic exertions to prepare a body of native preachers and catechists, should be provided; whence, as in the lower provinces, branch stations at convenient distances might be established.

In speaking of the peculiar circumstances in which the native population were placed, he thus unfolds the then existing condition of the people:—"It is evident to all acquainted with the state of native society in Calcutta, that a great and interesting change in the Hindoo mind has been long going on; but it has been lately far more clearly and rapidly developed than before, and now requires corresponding exertions on the part of christians to give it a right direction. A new era, it is evident, is now bursting on India. The labours of former years are producing an extensive and beneficial influence, and an impetus has been communicated to the native mind which can never be repressed. In some places, the institutions of caste are generally, though not openly, violated; and in others, they have already fallen into contempt. A taste for European science and literature has been excited, which, in its influence, promises to be most important. Such ridiculous statements with regard to geographical and astronomical facts are given in the sacred books of the Hindoos, that every youth who acquires only elementary scientific knowledge, soon suspects them to be false; his religious opinions being derived from the same works, doubt is gradually excited, which the increasing knowledge of every day tends to strengthen, till before his education is completed, Hindooism is discovered to be utterly an imposture. Hence the pupils who receive an English education, are all becoming, or have already become, complete unbelievers in the popular religion, and must either settle down as atheists and deists on the one side, or as christians on the other. Many thousands

of youth are taught at the expense of different missionary institutions; these are all instructed in the great principles of christianity, and some almost every month acknowledge the Saviour. But many young people are in very different circumstances. Four colleges in Calcutta, and twenty-three colleges and superior schools in other large cities, have been established at the expense of government, in twenty-three of which, at least five thousand native youths are now receiving an English education of a superior order. No instruction in the principles of christianity, however, is afforded in these institutions; so that as they begin to see the folly of Hindooism, they become acquainted with no better system of religion, and are thus exposed to the contagion of infidelity and vice. Among the youth of this class, the writings of Paine and Voltaire have been diligently circulated by sceptical Europeans, and works of the most licentious character have been sold by unprincipled natives. Rejecting, with its puerile mythology, the moral precepts of Hindooism, uninfluenced by the truths of christianity, and led to deny even those of natural religion, these young men are in a most dangerous state; and on the efforts of the christian church at the present moment, must depend, under God, whether they shall pass from the darkness of heathenism into the light of christian truth and holiness, or be precipitated into the gloomier depths of infidelity, sensuality, and eternal death.

"I may add, that their salvation or destruction will not take place alone,—it must involve that of many others. The late governor-general, Lord William Bentinck, and his successor, Lord Auckland, having

very judiciously encouraged the English language, in preference to the Persian, in public business, the desire for education in this language throughout India, is greater than was ever known before. As an illustration, I may mention, that at the latter end of last year, when a new college was opened at Hooghly, a few miles above Calcutta, fourteen hundred native youths enrolled their names as English students within a few days. Several native princes, with their chief officers, are already learning our language, and are frequently applying to Calcutta for instructors. To supply the demand from all quarters, numerous teachers are required; and the pupils who are now under instruction in Calcutta, in the government as well as the mission schools, being the most advanced, will without doubt be engaged, and in a few years be scattered over all the country as instructors of their countrymen. Even now, almost every boy who receives instruction in English in the day time, communicates it to a class of his relations or acquaintance, at night; and several advanced pupils, who are still pursuing their studies, unite in superintending a large free school for the benefit of their countrymen. How lamentable will it be, if these young men, becoming infidels, should proselyte their pupils, as they emerge from heathenism, into the same destructive sentiments! How delightful will it be, if through the active exertions of missionaries, many of them should now be brought to God, and in various situations of influence, which from their superior information they must occupy, should widely diffuse among their countrymen, a saving knowledge of the blessed Redeemer!"

On these grounds, Mr. Pearce entreated that *ten* missionaries should be sent as a reinforcement to India; and that means should be provided for the erection of a chapel and school-room for the benefit of the more intelligent and respectable Hindoos. The amount required was £6000. In making the request, he anticipated the objection that was likely to be at once started,—the more than exhausted state of the funds, and the aid that had been promised to the West India missions. His full belief, however, that no obstacle would prevent the ultimate accomplishment of his wishes and prayers, was realized. Mr. Robert Bayne was set apart as the first of the number solicited, in January, 1838, at Liverpool; whence, after long detention, he at length sailed for Bengal. Mr. Joseph Harris, also, was designated on the 28th of March, at St. Albans, and soon after sailed with his family for Ceylon. On the 31st of July, Mr. George Parsons was solemnly appointed to India, in a public service at Frome. His destination was Monghyr. Others followed.

In a letter to the contributors, expressive of thanks for their liberality, Mr. Pearce relates the following circumstance. "When Mrs. Pearce and myself were leaving India, Mr. Carapeit C. Aratoon, one of the Society's earliest missionaries, handed me a copy of Rennell's Indian Atlas, desiring me to present it in his name to the committee. It was accompanied with the following message, expressed in his usual simple and touching manner,—'Pray show this large map of Hindoostan to the committee, and tell them that they and British christians in general must surely have

forgotten *how large* India is, or *how few* missionaries they have sent to labour for its salvation.'" He further adds, "The native christians, in a touching appeal to their British brethren, have earnestly solicited fresh labourers from England; and when I asked a number of interesting children what I should bring them from Europe, even *they* begged for 'more missionaries to instruct themselves and their countrymen.' With what pleasure and gratitude, then, will all receive the brethren who have already sailed, and those who, we hope, will shortly follow them? In the name, therefore, of the European missionary brethren who have long been suffering from the pressure of accumulated labours; of the valuable native preachers, promising candidates for the ministry, and infant christian churches, who yet look to foreign agents as their guides and instructors; of the rising christian, Hindoo, and mahometan population, who now long for christian instruction—all of whom *solicit* your aid; as well as in the name of the vast multitude of natives, not yet wishing your assistance, it is true, but on that very account the more in need of it, and yet, we trust, to be benefited by it,—I affectionately thank you for your generous contributions."

CALCUTTA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

The congregations of all, or nearly all the chapels, were increasing at the commencement of 1838. Mr. Robinson, assisted by Mr. W. Thomas and four native preachers, occupied the Lol Bazar chapel. The number of members who had joined from the villages, was about fifty; and one hundred and thirty were

connected with the station altogether as members and inquirers. Some who had been cut off by cholera, among whom was his own wife, died triumphantly. The boarding-school, since named the Baptist Missionary Institution, under the care of Mr. Ellis, was never more prosperous. A theological class was formed, consisting of pious youth only, who met three days a-week, to proceed, in addition to their school duties, with a regular course of theological study. There were three native chapels,—at Banda Ghat, Howrah, and Goladarga. The Female Christian Institution at Seebpoor, near Fort William, under the superintendence of Mrs. G. Pearce, was removed in July to Calcutta; buildings having been erected for the accommodation of the children on the mission ground, adjoining the Circular Road chapel. Great assistance was given by Ramkristoo, the native christian schoolmaster, whose pious example and diligent exertions proved eminently useful to the institution.

On the 22nd of August, Mrs. Yates died at sea. Mr. George Pearce, who had gone to Bombay in vain for the restoration of his health, found it necessary to proceed to England, leaving Mr. Williamson to supply his place.

A few of the youths who were educated in the Chitpore mission school, joined the Circular Road chapel; and among those who gave a very satisfactory and interesting account of themselves, were particularly two, named Gunga Narayun Sil, and Hurry Hurr Sandal. Subsequently, the wife of the latter also renounced her home, friends, relatives, and jewels, to unite with him in the service of Christ. Chitpore

having been abandoned, from its insalubrity, premises were obtained at Entally, and the school was then called "the Calcutta Native Christian Institution; and the church in Chitpore became a church in Entally.

On the 30th of September, twelve Hindoos were baptized; eight of whom were young persons from the girls' christian boarding-school under the superintendence of Mrs. G. Pearce.

The second month of the year 1839 witnessed the painful event of the death of Mr. Penney, by cholera. He was attended with affectionate kindness to the last, by the brethren Yates and Ellis, to whom he spoke of his peace of mind, though it was an unexpected visitation. He was about forty-seven years of age, and had resided twenty-two in Calcutta, occupying a sphere of eminent usefulness as superintendent of the Benevolent Institution, for which he was eminently adapted. But he also took part in preaching and in other missionary labours. He was secretary of the Auxiliary Missionary Society, deacon of the church in the Circular Road, and president of the Ladies' Society for Female Education. "His predominant qualities as a man," says Dr. Yates, "were goodness, uprightness, cheerfulness, and activity. As a husband, father, and friend, he was invariably kind; as a christian, he displayed sincerity and love, zeal and constancy; as a preacher, he was simple and pointed; as an instructor of the young, affectionate, but firm in the maintenance of authority, he made his pupils feel he was both their master and their friend." He was twice married; and his surviving widow was the eldest child of Felix, and consequently the grand-daughter of Dr. Carey.

On their arrival, and during their stay in Calcutta, Mr. Parsons and Mr. Bayne gave the most pleasing account of the state of the missionary operations, which they found to be on a more extensive scale than they had anticipated. "I see," says the former, "that the amount of labour connected with a central station is not to be estimated by regarding the calls of that station alone. In a measure, the care of all the outstations alights here. Preparations for missionary work there, must be made here. The printing office is an immense concern. I never go over it without admiring the calmness and quietude with which brother Thomas bears the ponderous weight of its management. There is an incessant stream of proofs pouring in to be corrected."

He speaks of the Native Christian Institution for raising up native preachers, as an excellent undertaking. Contentment seemed to live in undisturbed possession of the place. The order observed was admirable, and the whole of the elder students gave indications of incipient piety; all above thirteen years of age being, or about to become members of the church.

Mr. Bayne writes,—"Our missionaries are found in every thing: translating the Bible, in whole or in part, into different languages; preaching to mussulmans or Hindoos in all parts; educating heathen children and the children of christian parents; cherishing those who are driven by persecution from their home; and training up pious young men of talent for the ministry, as well as preaching the word of life to the English."

Mr. Francis Tucker and Mr. John Wenger, who were designated to the work at Camberwell, June the 7th, having sailed on the 18th in company with Mr. and Mrs. Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, and Mr. and Mrs. Pearce, arrived safely at Calcutta on the 25th of September. They found the missionaries, and (with the exception of Ram Krishna, who had died triumphantly,) the native labourers all well. On holding a meeting to assign each one his post, it was agreed that they could only spare Mr. Phillips for the Upper Provinces on account of the necessities of Calcutta. Mr. Parsons was appointed to Monghyr, to supply the place of Mr. Leslie, proceeding to England. Mr. Tucker having taken the church in the Circular Road, enabled Dr. Yates to devote his whole time to the important work of translation. Mr. Bayne remained at Bow Bazar; Mr. Morgan repaired to Howrah; Mr. Thomas resigned the printing office to Mr. Pearce.

That last-mentioned and excellent servant of Christ was not, however, permitted to resume his labours long. He died, at a full age in labours, if not in years, of that awful scourge of India, the cholera, on the 17th of March, 1840; an event which deeply afflicted the friends of missions both at home and abroad.

The very name of Pearce is hallowed in the christian church; and that so eminent a man as the pastor of the church in Cannon Street, Birmingham, who was the friend and coadjutor of Fuller, Sutcliffe, Ryland, and Carey, at the formation of the missionary scheme, should, though dead, have survived, as it may be said, in the person of his son, W. H. Pearce, who had

much of his countenance, and more of his qualities, may well be reckoned among the rare, but merciful dispensations of providence; for how much more frequently have we to contemplate a contrast, rather than a coincidence of this kind in the history of christian families! All the sweet and lovely graces that distinguished his father, bloomed afresh in him, with only somewhat less of impassioned ardour in his mental constitution, and of animal vigour in his physical temperament.

He and his wife quitted their native shores in the spring of 1817, in company with Mrs. Ward, who had been some months in England for her health, with her son and daughter. His primary object was to serve the mission in the capacity of a printer; and he soon found abundant employment at Serampore, where, as he says in representing his earliest impressions, he was "surrounded by and engaged with the most devoted of men in the best of causes."

Mr. Pearce subsequently united himself with the junior missionaries, and took an active part in all the measures they adopted for the establishment and extension of the mission. In the printing department he commenced operations on a very limited scale, with only one press, in a mat hut adjoining the house where he lived. This establishment he continued to enlarge as providence enlarged his means, and raised it from the most insignificant to one of the most efficient in the city.

While conducting the annually increasing business of the office, he was not unmindful of the state of the heathen, but was continually planning for their

temporal good, writing for their spiritual instruction, or persuading others to exert themselves on their behalf. In the early part of his course he often addressed the Bengalees in the different native chapels of the city; though his chief exertions were directed to teaching, and doing good in a private manner.

In the beginning of 1819 he began to take a decided part in the cause of female education in India. He drew up a paper, and exerted his influence in the formation of a society among the young ladies under the care of Mrs. Lawson and Mrs. Pearce; and in May of that year, the Calcutta Juvenile Society for the support and establishment of Female Bengalee Schools was formed.

In the autumn of 1824, he took a missionary tour of some extent with his friend Yates and a native preacher. During this excursion he arranged the papers for a new edition of his father's Life, by Fuller, and wrote the preface. His mind, ever active, would allow him little relaxation; and hence, in journeys of this description, he always contrived to have some object to which he could devote his leisure moments, or the time not engaged in preaching to the natives. He had great skill in filling up the intervals of time, and by this means was enabled to accomplish an immense amount of labour.

At the beginning of 1827, Mr. Yates being necessitated to take a voyage for the benefit of his health to visit his native land, Mr. Pearce became his substitute as secretary to the School-Book Society, and assisted the native church in connexion with Carapeit Aratoon. These duties very much increased his labour and anxiety

for two years; but he sustained them with cheerfulness, and performed them with delight.

In 1829, when Mr. Yates on his return took the pastoral charge of the English church in Circular Road, Mr. Pearce was requested by the native brethren to supply his place as pastor of the native church. For several years previously he had cherished concern for their spiritual welfare; but so fearful was he of thrusting himself into the sacred office without suitable qualifications, that after receiving a pressing invitation to accept the charge, he asked a year's trial, and when at the expiration of that time the call was repeated, he required the sanction of all his missionary brethren and of the English church to which he belonged, before he would accept it.

In connexion with the personal charge of the church in Colinga, the chief care of the villages to the south of Calcutta devolved upon him, and his journals show his activity in promoting the welfare of the people.

He acted for several years as one of the editors of an English periodical, the "Calcutta Christian Observer;" and many valuable pieces under the name of "Beta" were his composition. In the midst of these labours he still found time to assist in the translation of the Scriptures, and to compose and edit useful books and tracts. His assistance in the work of translating the New Testament into Bengálee was very valuable, as he had a very accurate acquaintance with that language, and also with the original. His particular department was the final correction of the proofs; and no eye was ever quicker than his in discovering a typographical error.

His Geography in Bengalee and Hindee has been extensively used in the native schools, and contains a vast quantity of useful information, communicated in a manner best suited to impress it on the native mind. His "Satya A'shray," or "True Refuge," a tract printed in Bengalee, Oriya, and Hindee, has been circulated and read more extensively than almost any other; it has also been the means of leading several to abandon idolatry, and embrace the gospel.

In 1836, after a residence in India of nineteen years, it was thought important that he should be released for a season from his laborious duties, to enjoy the benefit of a colder climate; accordingly he left Calcutta on the 1st of January, and arrived in England on the 4th of May, 1837. His valuable and successful labours during that visit have been already detailed. He found the winter extremely unfavourable to his health, and at the end of the second year of his sojourn he seriously apprehended the termination of his life; but being considerably though not wholly restored, he re-embarked for India on the 20th of June, 1839. His health during the passage was somewhat improved. His time was wholly occupied in teaching Bengalee, and in learning Hindostanee or Urdu.

After the first ardent welcome from his brethren to the scene of his former labours, he re-commenced his work; but sensible that his strength was not equal to what it had been, he wisely determined to circumscribe his efforts, and to confine his attention to his office and the native church. On the first Lord's day in October he resumed his duties in the native church

by preaching in Bengalee and administering the Lord's supper, though at the church meeting held on the Wednesday of the same week, he informed the members, when they invited him to resume the pastoral care over them, that he could not do so fully till the beginning of the year. The works on which his heart was most set were the Bengalee Bible with headings to the chapters, and references and literal renderings at the foot of the page, and a reprint of Martyn's version of the New Testament in Persian; but he did not live to see the first form of either of them through the press. The Bengalee had been kept waiting for him three years.

March the 16th, the day before his death, was spent in writing to the Society in England, drawing up an appeal to the American and Foreign Bible Society, and conversing with the members of his church. About ten o'clock in the evening he retired to rest, and in the night was seized with cholera. Being acquainted with the nature of the disease, he applied the usual remedies, but without effect. Early in the morning the physician was called, and other means tried, but in vain.

"In the forenoon," says Dr. Yates, "conscious that his end was approaching, he said to his beloved partner and another dear friend, who were giving him some assistance, 'Love one another; live near to God; win souls to Christ.' A christian friend observing to him that he had been commended to God, and that his will would be done, he replied, 'Serve God in your day and generation.' His beloved partner then asked for a parting word; he said, 'Stay in the mission, and do what good

you can; and the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit for ever; amen.' As his strength was very rapidly diminishing, his most intimate christian brother asked him if he thought the disorder would terminate his earthly career. He said, there could be no doubt of it. He then asked him if he felt peaceful in the prospect. He replied, 'Peaceful, but not joyful, peaceful but not joyful.' His friend asked him why he was not joyful in the prospect of entering into glory. He said, 'Why, I thought there was something more for me to do for the good of India before departing.' His friend rejoined, 'God has work for his people in another world besides this.' He replied by nodding, and seeming to whisper 'Very true.' At this moment the doctor came in, and looking at him, said, 'I hope, Mr. Pearce, you feel happy.' He replied, holding him by the hand, 'Doctor, I have a good hope through grace.' A little while after, another friend came in, and after quoting some consolatory passages of Scripture, to which he responded by occasionally raising his hand, asked him how he felt. He replied, 'I hope in Christ, I hope in Christ.' His friend quoted, 'Unto you that believe he is precious.' He answered, 'I know him to be so—infinitely.' Perceiving that all would soon be over, his friend said, 'You are going to your Lord and Master,'—he instantly replied, 'a most unworthy servant.' These were nearly the last words he spoke audibly. The powerful medicines he had taken seemed to confuse his mind, and impair his utterance. There was one incident, however, which occurred soon afterwards which those who were present will not soon forget. Being raised suddenly in bed to

relieve the oppression on his chest, his eye fell on one who stood at the foot of the bed, who had been born and reared in all the delusions of mahometanism, but who had for many years proved, through the grace of God, a very consistent and devoted christian. A heavenly smile instantly broke over the wan face of the sufferer, which was instantly responded to by the converted mussulman in the true spirit of the text, 'Bhay kario ná bhay kario ná; Prabhu nikate dáráitechhen.' *(Fear not, fear not; the Lord is standing by thee.)* The dying saint nodded his assent; and deeply were all around affected with the spectacle of one in the garb and mien of an oriental, and in a strange tongue, helping to soothe the death-bed of a British christian with the sublime consolations of the word of God. After this, Mr. Pearce seemed gradually to sink into insensibility, and about nine o'clock the scene was closed."*

The gospel now continued to be proclaimed among the heathen with persevering zeal by Aratoon, Sujatali, Bishwanatti, and Gunga Narayun Sil, in the native chapels, and in the public places of the city. The Native Christian Institution also furnished its quota of assistance by the elder students, who were thus preparing themselves for the office of evangelists. In the north-east of Calcutta, a new chapel was erected, and Bengalee services were conducted in two places for the Roman catholics, who had been much neglected.

At the commencement of the year 1840, the native church in Entally, under the superintendence of Mr.

* Life by Dr. Yates.

Ellis, consisted of twenty-one members; and this small community formed a Native Missionary Society, in connexion with the Calcutta Auxiliary. The Native Christian Institution continued to be very prosperous; five out of fifty-four pupils were baptized on a profession of faith, and others were expected to follow their example. The value of this institution was justly appreciated and admirably exhibited by Mr. Morton, of the London Missionary Society, who presided at the annual examination; from whose report a few sentences may be advantageously given. "The first class, in particular, composed of young men, all christians and members of the mission church, who are under preparation for the work of evangelists among their countrymen, acquitted themselves in a most creditable manner. They were questioned, among other important matters, in the entire range of christian evidences, both internal and external; in the laws of moral evidence generally; in doctrinal theology, Scripture history, and political economy; in all of which, particularly in the first, they showed themselves to have acquired a very large mass of information, at once accurate and full.

"Nor was it simply the amount of information actually attained, but rather chiefly, the readiness with which it was produced in detail, and in portions severally but slightly connected, as well as the evident familiarity with the subjects of inquiry which they had acquired, that proved so gratifying to our minds, and forms so conclusive a proof of the efficiency of the plan of study pursued in the institution.

"Yet more refreshing was the pleasing evidence

afforded of the lively interest taken by the pupils themselves in those high and holy subjects which entered into the principal matters of examination. There was a seriousness, and feeling, and personal devotion evinced, that were, indeed, the best comment upon the paramount importance and unquestionable utility of such a course of study, so conducted and pursued, that is, in invariable connexion with the discipline of church communion, and under an all-watchful solicitude to excite and ever maintain the principles and practices of vital godliness and personal religion in the students. * * *

"My own mind was powerfully impressed with the vast importance of thus furnishing so many young native youths with so large a mass of multifarious information, on topics of equal interest and utility,—of such direct bearing on not only their own welfare, present and eternal, but on that of their countrymen also. It is a most interesting fact, indeed, that Hindoo youths, only just emerging themselves from the darkness of the grossest ignorance and most debasing superstitions, should now be found extending their inquiries over the most valuable department of universal knowledge, especially over a wide range of historical and moral knowledge. More particularly is it a subject of thankfulness and hope, when viewed as concurrent with the wide extension of education, without religion, in the government and other schools and colleges of the city and elsewhere, and daily almost augmenting in number and influence,—that in the Baptist Missionary Institution in Entally, as in the General Assembly's School in Cornwallis Square, and

the Christian Institution of the London Missionary Society at Bhawanipore, the conductors make it their similar and constant aim, while bestowing that knowledge which is emphatically power, to provide, at the same time, as far as human instrumentality can do so, for the securing to its possessors of that only conservative and regulating principle, a just religious belief. Who can estimate the mischievous uses to which this vast power may yet be turned in the unskilful hands of those who are but just awakening to its acquisition from the long, long slumbers of ages of mental inactivity? And who, in like manner, can form any adequate conception of the happy and hallowed influence which young men like these, furnished at once with extensive information, and actuated by sound religious principle, may,—nay, must exert upon some no inconsiderable portion of the mass of their yet unenlightened, and superstitious, and degraded countrymen? In such instruments as these, indeed, it is, under God's providence and grace, that our missionary societies at home, and their European agents here, must look for any very wide dissemination of our divine faith. An indigenous agency alone, whether we regard the vast number of labourers required, or the immense resources necessary for their support—numbers and resources which our father-land never could supply—can ever be adequate to the evangelisation of the innumerable population of India.

"The true economy of missionary expenditure, then, whether of men or labour, of time or money, will be far best consulted in the training up of fully-qualified native evangelists,—men who, to an acquaintance

with the native mind, habits, and domestic manners, scarcely attainable under any circumstances by foreigners, superadding a sound general and christian education, always supposing the indispensable qualification of deep personal piety and devotion to the cause, will be able, with an efficiency which to us, their pioneers and trainers, must be of hopeless attainment, to carry the blessed light and sanctifying leaven of the gospel of Jesus Christ through the length and breadth of the land, and to realize instrumentally, under the conduct and power of the Divine Spirit, the great enlightener, quickener, and sanctifier, the largest and holiest expectations and prayers of the churches of our father-land,—the fullest, and most benignant of the prophetic announcements, and promises of holy Scripture."

The school-room, capable of accommodating between four and five hundred pupils, was opened in February. It measures, inside, ninety feet by forty, with a verandah the whole length; and at the east end are two large and commodious class-rooms, twenty-six feet by sixteen. Some hundreds of native youth attend, of whom many belong to the higher classes. The chapel adjoining, neatly fitted up, is capable of containing about three hundred persons. When Mr. W. H. Pearce was in England, an anonymous donation of £1000 was presented to him, to assist in the erection of these buildings, which are contiguous to the Circular Road, and not far from the mission press.

Mr. Robinson having removed to Dacca, after some interval Mr. Bayne accepted the pastoral office. As sixty-five native members resided at Nursingdarchoke,

and other villages, fifteen miles distant, a separate church was constituted there, and Mr. W. Thomas with three native teachers were constantly employed at the station. There were chapels in four villages.

Luckyantipore and Khari were placed under the superintendence of Mr. Wenger. Worship was regularly maintained by the assistant missionary, Mr. De Monte and four native preachers, in several neighbouring hamlets. The church in the former place consisted of about forty-eight, and in the latter of thirty-five members.

The report respecting the translations at this time contained the following particulars. The versions then completed were:—

1. An edition, being the first, of the New Testament in Hindostanee, with marginal references, in octavo, 1000 copies.

2. Another edition of the New Testament in the same language, but in a smaller size, and without marginal references, 500 copies.

Of this version, extra copies of each of the Gospels, and of the Acts separately, and of the four Gospels and Acts together, making an aggregate of 9500 volumes, were printed. The extra copies of the Gospels and Acts constituted, in fact, the first edition of that part of this work, as after they were struck off, and the marginal references were inserted, the text was subjected to repeated and severe revision; when some inaccuracies, which had previously escaped observation, were corrected, and some important alterations made in the rendering of particular passages or expressions. The second edition was then struck off, after which the

matter was set up in another form, and subjected to another close revision, by which means a still greater degree of accuracy was secured in this portion of the impression.

Respecting this version, very gratifying testimonials have been received from individuals, both native and European, well qualified to judge of its merits.

3. An edition of the Psalms in Sungskrit verse, 2500 copies. To this impression an advertisement is prefixed, showing that the structure of the Sungskrit language is such as to admit of a metrical version as close and faithful to the original as any prose version could be, and at the same time much more easily understood.

4. The third edition of the New Testament in Bengalee, octavo, 1500 copies, with 6000 copies extra of each of the Gospels, 2000 of the Acts, and 500 of the Gospels and Acts together, making a total of 28,000 volumes.

5. The fourth edition of the New Testament in Bengalee, in royal 12mo., 3000 copies, with 2000 extra of the Gospels and Acts together. This beautiful edition of the Sacred Word is in extensive circulation, being much in request for its great portability.

6. An edition of the New Testament in modern Armenian, with numerous marginal references, 6000 copies. This important work was carried through the press by Mr. Aratoon, who bestowed great care in selecting the references, and in securing the general accuracy of the work.

7. An edition of the Gospel of Matthew, in Hinduee, Nagree characters, 6000 copies. It was proposed

to execute an improved translation of the whole New Testament into this language, but the remainder of the work was deferred for a time, in order to ascertain how far the version was likely to be understood and appreciated by those for whom it was intended.

In this, as well as in the other versions, it has been the constant object of the translators to present the word of God in simple, but pure language, and in an idiomatic style, so that the sacred volume might be readily understood by the poor and unlearned, as well as acceptable to the educated part of the community.

The following works were in progress:—

1. The New Testament in Sungskrit, octavo size, 1000 copies, with 3000 copies extra of Matthew, and 4000 each of the other Gospels. Matthew and Mark have been some time in circulation, Luke had just left the press, and the printing had proceeded to about the middle of John. In this version a metrical rendering has been given of the quotations from the practical parts of the Old Testament, by which they are readily distinguished from the other parts of the New Testament writings. As all the copies of Matthew intended for separate distribution have been disposed of, it has been determined to distribute in this form the thousand copies originally intended to be bound up with the Testament, and to reprint this Gospel.

2. A new edition of the Gospels and Acts in Hindostanee, consisting of 4500 copies, the printing of which has proceeded to the middle of John.

3. As considerably more than four-fifths of the two editions of the New Testament in Hindostanee had

already been disposed of, a third edition, to consist of 3000 copies of the entire Testament, and 1000 copies of the Gospels and Acts together, had been put to press. In this edition it was proposed to reduce the size of the volume as much as possible; and it was expected the whole would be comprised in 500 small duodecimo pages.

The number of volumes the printing of which had been completed during the past year, is 40,600. Of these 6600 were entire Testaments, 2000 the Gospels and Acts bound together, 2500 of the Psalms in Sungskrit, and 29,500 single Gospels; which, added to those of previous years, make a total of 92,000 volumes. The works then in hand, or about to be put to press, would not fall short of 60,000 more. In aid of this undertaking, so intimately connected with the ultimate and permanent success of the preaching of the gospel, a renewed donation of five thousand dollars (in English money £1025. 1*s*. 2*d*.) was made by the committee of the American and Foreign Bible Society, whose repeated liberality has been most distinguished. A contribution of £400 towards the same object was presented by Robert Haldane, Esq., of Edinburgh, whose early patronage of our oriental translations introduced them to the notice and extended support of our fellow-christians in the north more than forty years ago.

On the 18th of May, Mr. John Parsons was designated at Frome, as a missionary to India; and on the 21st, at Hackney, for the same destination, Mr. W. W. Evans, assistant secretary of the mission, member of the church in Mare Street, and Mr. George

Small, of Edinburgh. Mr. Evans was sent more immediately with a view to his undertaking the Benevolent Institution, as successor to Mr. Penney. In addition to this, he subsequently took the pastoral charge of the Lol Bazar church. They reached India, with Mrs. Parsons and Mrs. Evans, in the month of November; and were met with the afflictive tidings that Mr. George B. Parsons had expired in Calcutta, one week only (November 18th) before his brother's arrival. He had come from Monghyr, under an interdict of six months' labour, to seek the renewal of his health; exposure in the rainy season having superinduced an inflammation of the throat. He was ardent and laborious, and inspired with the love of souls. A recent letter written to his widowed mother, evinced a well-prepared mind for the solemn crisis that awaited him.

The prolonged and dangerous illness of Mrs. Bayne compelled her return to Europe, and it was deemed necessary for Mr. Bayne to accompany her. Mr. Tucker, also, was obliged from entire failure of health to relinquish his very encouraging prospects in the Circular Road Chapel, and to return to Europe, hopeless as to any resumption of oriental labours.

In July, 1841, the missionary band was again reduced, by the enfeebled state of Mr. Ellis demanding his withdrawment to England. Mrs. Ellis, for a similar reason, left with their children in March. It was with extreme reluctance that he quitted the important station to which he was so earnestly devoted; but there was no alternative. And thus did the providence of God exercise the faith of his missionaries; but the

frequent removals that occurred tended to display to the world the irrepressible ardour of his servants, and the sublime character of christianity which animated them successively to follow in the field of labour, suffering, and death.

On the removal of Mr. Ellis, Mr. and Mrs. Small took the charge of the Native Christian Institution. Mr. Evans writes in feeling and deploring terms respecting these various changes, and his own overwhelming labours, and with earnest entreaty for sympathy and aid, which the Society was equally anxious to render. He experienced, however, much success in the addition of members to the church, whose number exceeded a hundred. Mr. Wenger also communicated his anxieties in a similar strain of earnestness. He was much devoted to the work of biblical translation, and the superintendence of the native churches in the villages. In August, he baptized a few persons at Luckyantipore. At Khari, the church displayed much steadiness. At Nursingdarchoke, missionary efforts had gradually extended; several families had abandoned caste. But in these places, no inconsiderable opposition was excited, while several of the members apostatised. At one time, no fewer than five law suits, all equally unjust, were brought against some of the christians there, by adherents to the Propagation Mission, whose missionaries, being puseyites, maintaining the doctrines of apostolic succession and episcopal ordination as essential marks of the true church, engaged in open warfare with the *unauthorised* teachers of christianity.

About the close of September, the mission was

reinforced by the return of Mr. G. Pearce from England, when he relieved Mr. Small of the Native Christian Institution, and Mr. Wenger of the native church at Entally, Luckyantipore, and Khari. He, also, in writing from Luckyantipore, where he was enjoying the pleasures of a first visit after an absence of four years, refers to "the *havoc* made at all the village stations by the missionaries of the Propagation Society." He says that "by bribes and promises they had drawn off not fewer than sixty families." Many individuals, however, speedily returned, and reunited with the church. The female department of the Native Christian Institution was committed to Mr. and Mrs. Wenger in November, upon the removal of Mrs. Penney to Serampore. About the middle of December, also, Mr. Gibson, having been sent from England for the purpose, became pastor of the church in Circular Road. Dr. Yates continued to devote himself to biblical translation, and the supervision of the native church in South Kalinga; Mr. Thomas superintended the press and Scripture depository; Mr. Morgan laboured diligently at Howrah; and the rest were occupied as before stated.

The printing press and type-foundry at Calcutta were erected at a cost of upwards of £20,000, without pecuniary aid from this country, and chiefly through the profits of the printing office. It is wholly the property of the Society, having been made over to them by our brethren W. H. Pearce and his coadjutors, for the purpose of carrying on the great work of biblical translations. This establishment not only prints largely in English, but in all the written oriental languages,

and casts type in most of them. Seven presses on an average are constantly employed in printing the Scriptures; whilst the profits of the general business go to the funds of the mission. Out of the profits of the last few years £3000 have lately been devoted to mission work; one half to the various operations of the Society in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and the other half to the support of the widows and orphans of deceased missionaries. The presses had been engaged during the year principally in printing editions of the sacred Scriptures, as they are called for by the people. A new edition of the Hindoostanee Testament had been begun; the Persian Testament finished; and in Sungskrit the Proverbs had been printed in a metrical but literal translation. In Bengalee there had been printed, an edition of the New Testament, 5000; the Gospels and Acts, 2500; Acts, 3000; Luke and Acts, 3000; Isaiah and Daniel (newly translated), 5000; also a new edition of the Proverbs. The great work of the Bengalee Bible is steadily proceeding towards completion, the Historical Books (the only parts unfinished) being translated as far as the middle of the Second Book of Kings.

Exclusive of 1000 copies of the Psalms handed over to the committee of the Calcutta Bible Society in repayment of a loan to that extent previously obtained, the entire number of Scriptures sent from the depository from the 1st of January, 1840, to the 28th of February, 1841, had been *fifty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty-six*; which, added to those of the three preceding years, gives a total of *one hundred and fourteen thousand two hundred and fifty-six* volumes containing larger or

smaller portions of the Scriptures, Testaments, Psalters, the books of Genesis and the Proverbs, or single Gospels, sent forth from the stores of the Baptist Mission during the last four years.

Editions of the Scriptures, tracts, and school books, are now perpetually issuing from the mission press at Calcutta, which are distributed, during the stated and itinerant labours of the missionaries, by thousands and tens of thousands. Since the first issue of the New Testament in 1801, the whole Bible, or parts of it, have been translated into forty-four eastern languages or dialects, spoken by at least, including China, *five hundred millions of people*, and nearly *five hundred thousand volumes* have been printed.

Melancholy tidings were sent from Calcutta in the early part of 1842. Within a few days of each other, W. B. Beeby, Esq., and the Rev. R. Gibson were removed by death. The former had just returned from England, where he had been for a few years in close alliance with the Society as a member of the central committee, and afforded valuable aid in its councils by his good sense and knowledge of Indian affairs and localities. Some important arrangements relating to the interior regulation of the printing department at Calcutta, and other matters were entrusted to his care upon his return, which, during the very brief space allotted him by providence, were accomplished with admirable skill, and to the entire satisfaction both of the committee at home and the missionaries at Calcutta. On the 24th of February, the twenty-first anniversary of the Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society of that city was celebrated in the Circular Road chapel. Mr. Beeby

occupied the chair, and contributed much to the interest of the occasion. He adverted with strong feeling to his having been spared, after an absence of ten years, to take part in the proceedings of an institution from which so many of its active members had been removed by death since he had joined it, two years after its formation in 1820. To that holy and heavenly company he was shortly to be united; for only on the following Monday, the 28th, he was seized with cholera, and expired in a few hours.

Mr. Gibson, who had been sent out to take the oversight of the church, as successor to Mr. Tucker, and had arrived so recently as the 14th of December, was present at the auxiliary meeting, and took a lively share in its proceedings; and in his speech, after referring to the importance of individual effort in seeking the extension of religion in the world, urged emphatically upon all, the necessity of "working while it was called to-day, for the night cometh when no man can work." On the morning of the 29th of February, he complained of some indisposition, which his friends attributed to the deep sorrow he felt at the sudden illness and death of Mr. Beeby. He considered himself, however, sufficiently well to attend his funeral. At the grave, Dr. Yates, in the course of his address, quoted the saying, "in the midst of life we are in death," "or rather," he observed, "death is in us." While this sentence was uttering, Mr. Gibson fainted, sat a few moments on a tombstone for recovery, and was then led to Dr. Yates's house. It was an attack of cholera; the next morning he followed his departed friend to the skies. In the last hours of life, he

repeatedly expressed his reliance on the atonement of Christ; and to his bearer who was attending upon him, he said, with all the emphasis he could command, "If I could but speak your language, I would tell you about Jesus Christ."

As it was of great importance that some provision should be made for the Circular Road chapel, Dr. Yates undertook the temporary pastorship, with the assistance of Mr. Wenger, and the occasional aid of the other missionaries.

NORTHERN INDIA.

In estimating the moral power of missionary operations, we must not be satisfied with a superficial inspection. Effects of an incidental kind, and workings that lie below the surface, must be taken into the account,—secret and silent influences, and exertions of a preparatory nature. A casual observer, in glancing at an extensive plain, and seeing only here and there a tuft of vegetation, might be induced to pronounce it a region of infertility and utter waste; whereas, were he to take the trouble of examining well, instead of pronouncing so promptly, he would perchance discover that many of the fields were sown with valuable seed, and were only awaiting the season and the sunshine, when they would burst forth into an abundant vegetation. And thus in considering the missionary operations, though the churches may be comparatively few and small, the seed of the kingdom has been widely sown, and the sowers, native labourers especially, are at work every day with Bibles, tracts, and the various

modes of itinerant ministration, by which the moral waste is cultivated, and from which it may be expected, by God's blessing, an already springing vegetation will grow into a harvest of converted souls. Few may at present join a church, while many receive impressions which they carry with them into remote places, where they are instrumental in affecting other minds, or preparing them for a future missionary instrumentality; or they take with them the books that are given, which speak to them, and their families and neighbours, in distant solitudes, and perhaps to distant times. These remarks are especially applicable to northern India, to whose scattered communities we now briefly refer.

Cutwa and Sewry.—The cause at Cutwa has for years continued in a languid state; but the native population seek after copies of the Scriptures with some avidity, and have not been altogether inattentive to the preaching of the gospel. The same may be said of Sewry. Four were added in 1838, and one excluded. Thirty pupils attended in each of the two schools, one of which was English, the other Bengalee. Three converted Hindoos assisted Mr. Williamson in the ministry, who visited villages, fairs, and markets, to address the natives, and distribute Bibles and tracts. One valuable native preacher, Bolaram, died in the faith of the gospel. In 1840, six were baptized in connexion with Sewry; but in 1841 as many were excluded. The number of members was thirty-four. The two schools were in a satisfactory state.

Monghyr.—"The chapel erected many years ago for

the natives, is now double the size of the English chapel, having once been enlarged,* and on the sabbath is generally thronged with natives, both Hindoos and mahometans, though the greater part of them are but fugitive hearers. They crowd the doors and passages, listen to a few sentences, and then walk away, making room for others. They pay much attention; and many of them, delighted with the native christian band who always attend to sing the songs of Zion, are tempted to stop and hear the word of God. The knowledge of the gospel is carried far into the surrounding country by means of the services conducted in this little chapel, and more than one of the native christians owes his first convictions to what he has heard as a mere passer by. An instance of this kind may be recited of one of them lately deceased. Visiting Monghyr on one occasion as a religious Hindoo mendicant, and passing the chapel at the hour of worship, he was inclined to enter, and his heart was opened to receive the word preached. So convinced was he of the truth of christianity, and so great was the power of the gospel on him, that he determined at once to carry the tidings of salvation to the village from whence he came, confident that if they only heard they would assuredly believe and receive it as he had done. The news of his conversion reached the village before him; and without listening to any thing he had to say, they threw the old man on the ground, dragged him by his legs on his back through the village, and thus bade him 'go, and never show his face there again.' There,

* See Vol. I., p. 418.

besides his mother, he had a wife and little son and daughter; but they would not see him nor go with him. He loved his family much, but he loved Christ more; and therefore left all to follow his Lord. Some time after, he was baptized, and lived a meek and holy life. He had the happiness of receiving back all his family after several years' separation. His mother was very old, and died soon amidst the most assiduous and affectionate attention of her son, whilst he strove to the utmost, though it is apprehended with little success, to point her to the Lamb of God. His wife was carried off by cholera a few years ago, but not without affording a good hope that she had believed to the saving of her soul. His daughter has, since her mother's death, joined the church, and his son, a fine lad of thirteen or fourteen years of age, is a promising pupil in the boarding school under Mr. John Parsons. Gungajeet, after living as a humble and devoted christian, bearing many oppressions and persecutions for the truth's sake with the most lovely meekness and humility, died last year firm in faith, abounding in peace, and administering comfort to his mourning brethren and sisters in Christ. Almost at the last gasp, he said in broken accents, 'My Saviour is with me; he is my rock.'

"The chapel is opened but once in the sabbath and once in the week for public worship. The native christians meet there also on these occasions; but every Monday afternoon they assemble in the English chapel on account of the quiet of the place. The missionaries also attend, and a few other Europeans. An address is given by the missionaries alternately.

Hymns are sung, and the native brethren engage in several prayers. The missionaries also alternately take the Thursday afternoon service in the native chapel, but leave the sabbath services to the native preachers. There are two English services on the sabbath, and one in the week, besides a prayer-meeting every Saturday evening. The native sisters meet together for prayer and reading the Scriptures in the vestry of the English chapel, every Friday afternoon; and in the evening the European members unite, of their own accord, in a private house for prayer. Thus the missionaries have only two evenings in the week unoccupied with services; and these they devote to preaching in the streets and neighbouring villages. The native and English churches are united, and now consist of about fifty members. Many excellent individuals from amongst the heathen have fallen asleep in Christ since the seed was first sown. The chief native preacher now is Hainsookh. He was a brahmin of high caste. His native place is Jyepore in the western provinces. He first heard the gospel preached by a converted native, whilst on a pilgrimage with his father, mother, and brother, to the celebrated Juggernaut; but filial affection prompted him to accompany his parents, though his own faith in idolatry was shaken. On their return, his father died as many do—a victim to pilgrimage. Hainsookh, becoming fully convinced of the folly and guilt of idolatry, determined to break the dreadful chain of caste and follow Christ. His aged mother opposed with all her might. Maternal affection permitted her not to forsake her son, yet she made his life miserable by her ungoverned temper.

He was baptized at Digah by Chamberlain, and was under his instruction and discipline whilst he laboured in Monghyr. A few years afterwards, he had the happiness of seeing his mother a changed being,—formerly a bitter enemy, now a lover of the Lord Jesus. She still lives, though her days cannot be long. She has been blind for several years; and if there is one situation in which Hainsookh appears more amiable than another, it is when he is leading his aged and sightless mother to the house of God. It is a sight worth beholding. Had christianity done nothing more for him than making him so beautiful a pattern of filial duty amongst a people famed for their failures in this respect, it had done enough; but it has accomplished much more. He is meek as a lamb, tender-hearted and forgiving in his disposition, most highly respected by his countrymen, and beloved by his fellow-christians, both native and European.

"Little attention has been paid to schools in Monghyr, though at one time there were twelve or fourteen day schools for boys. It was discovered, however, that while their heathen masters instructed them in reading the Scriptures, they did all in their power to prejudice their minds against christianity. They were, therefore, all abolished, and an attempt was made to establish a school with a christian schoolmaster; but no child was permitted to go. Some time after, a second effort was made, and a school-room built close to the native chapel, where a number (thirty or forty) of boys are taught by a christian schoolmaster to read the Scriptures, and commit to memory Watts's Catechism, as well as to write and cipher. Another school

was commenced shortly after by another native christian in a different part of the town. Several efforts have been made without success to establish schools for native females. It seems impossible to convince the natives, as yet, of the importance of female education. A boarding school for native orphan children was established about two years ago by the late lamented missionary George Parsons, and is now carried on by his devoted brother John. All available efforts to obtain children from the hill tribes have been used without success.

"Amidst the ignorance of the women of India, there is one pleasing incident worth recording. For the last ten years at least, perhaps more, the wife of a very respectable native goldsmith has been in the habit of secretly attending the native prayer-meetings of both sexes in the English chapel, which, being on the river's brink, she contrives to attend, under the pretence of bathing in the sacred Ganges. She is always accompanied by other women of her acquaintance, sometimes six or even ten in number. After performing their ablutions in the river, they ascend to the chapel, and hear of Christ. Several times has this woman been detected by her husband and friends, and betrayed by some of her companions, after which she has been so closely watched as to be unable to elude their notice, until their suspicions being lulled to rest, she has once more frequented the favoured spot where she can hear of Christ, pray to Christ, and enjoy sweet fellowship with the christian band. She appears bold and regardless of detection, and says "the sooner my husband finds me out the better;" but she does not yet

see it her duty to leave him. She and some of her female companions are accustomed in the privacy of their retirement to worship the Lord Jesus by singing the christian hymns and prayer. She declares that she never worships any idol, but God alone; but represents herself as in a great net, knowing not how to escape, but she prays that Jesus would break the net, and deliver her. She is anxious to read, but there is none to teach her, for no christian can approach her dwelling, nor she theirs; but she manifests great love to the christians, and when they have been ill, she has more than once contrived to send them some little niceties of her own preparing. Who can tell but this woman may be the little leaven leavening the whole circle of her acquaintances in this unobserved manner? Her ignorance doubtless is great, and many of her views wrong, but she has evidently learnt that she is a great sinner, and that Christ is a great saviour. We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of her professions, for by becoming a christian, she must know that she loses all and gains nothing; and yet for ten or twelve years she has kept firm to her purpose, and in spite of dectection continues to visit the house of prayer, and that too with companions who are the most likely to betray her. God is at no loss for means; his Spirit and his gospel can reach the most guarded retirement, and work unseen and unaided by mortals."*

The church in this place received no accessions during the year 1839, while five of its number were removed by death. It then contained forty members,

* Mrs. Leslie's MS.

half of whom were natives. In 1841, the number was forty-six, twenty-nine natives, and seventeen Europeans. There were two schools containing fifty children, under the superintendence of Mr. and Mrs. Parsons, and a small boarding school. Mr. J. Lawrence and Mr. J. Parsons continue to labour there in the absence of Mr. Leslie who has just (August, 1842) left England on his return, with recruited health.

Patna.—The labours of Mr. Beddy were much interrupted during 1837 by indisposition, and by the unusual severity of the hot season, when for nine months, with a very slight exception, rain was entirely withheld from the earth. Many thousands died of famine, cholera, and various epidemic diseases; notwithstanding which the people continued in a state of utter indifference to the gospel, excepting when occasionally roused to malignant opposition. Both Mr. Beddy and Mr. Lawrence give a similar account of Patna and Digah. The English church, however, in the 31st regiment, afforded Mr. Lawrence much encouragement. It numbered about fifty members. In 1839, Mr. Beddy reports an addition to the church of three members. He was assisted by two native preachers, Kast and Haridas. Mr. Phillips had also gone to join him, with the hope, by a divine blessing, of making some impression on the immense population; but after remaining a few weeks, he proceeded to Agra. In 1840, Roopdas, a native teacher who had been excluded two years before, was restored, and several promising individuals had renounced caste. Hindostanee services were continued in and out of doors. In 1841, four were baptized, and one restored; the

number being then twenty. A Sunday school and a Female Orphan Refuge had been commenced.

Benares and Chunar.—For many years Mr. Smith has laboured actively here, but with a very small church and congregation. His position, however, affords him great opportunities, which he seizes, of circulating the Scriptures and tracts in various languages. Some apparent good has resulted from the distribution. The church has slowly increased to eighteen. In 1838-9, there were about nine members. Among the few baptized were two Hindoos of the writer caste. One had been removed by death, and six had gone to reside in the Upper Provinces. The church has since increased to fifteen or sixteen. This is but a little leaven, but it is working, and to what a glorious extent ultimately who shall say?

A church was formed in 1827, at the subordinate station of Chunar, and has always been dependent on the services of Mr. Smith. It was severely tried in 1839 by the removal of nine members to other places, and the death of four, leaving only seven.

Allahabad.—Mr. Mackintosh has continued to labour with various success. In 1839, among the three baptized was a rajput, who renounced kindred, caste, and employ under the native government, for the gospel; and he took charge of a school. He attributed his conversion to some tracts that happened to find him. The present number of members is about sixteen. There is one native teacher, and a boys' school of twenty-two children.

Agra.—In this extensive city Mr. Richard Williams laboured for several years, and established a small

church, which, with its pastor, was received into connexion with the mission in 1838. Six persons had been recently baptized. There is a commodious chapel. In 1839, he received three by baptism, and three by letters of dismission. The church comprised forty-nine members, chiefly Europeans and East Indians, who provided at their own cost for the support of the pastor and Ganpat, a native preacher. In 1840, Mr. Phillips having arrived to his aid, greatly encouraged Mr. Williams, especially as it was at an opportune moment, when, having broken a blood-vessel, it was necessary he should seek a temporary residence at Simlah, on the Himmalayan mountains. Five members were added during the year, and the increase of the congregation rendered an enlargement of the place of worship requisite. In 1841, fourteen were added to the church on profession, and eleven by letter, making the number seventy. It is strictly, as they represent it, a missionary church, for "almost all the members who have it in their power, are doing what they can to promote the cause of God and truth among the perishing heathen."

Delhi.—During three or four years previously to 1839, this station was left to the care of Devigir, the native assistant, in consequence of Mr. Thompson devoting his time at Serampore to the printing a translation of portions of the Scriptures into Hindui. Afterwards, he had thoughts of transferring his services to Ghazipore, whither many of the pious soldiers under the care of Mr. Lawrence had gone; but ultimately he resumed his station at Delhi, where, as in other places, he diligently distributed the word of God in Persian,

Arabic, and the native languages. His labours stirred up the jealousy, and stimulated antagonist efforts among the mahometans, who published tracts at Delhi, Lucknow, and Gya; and one wealthy individual caused the Koran to be lithographed and gratuitously distributed, with an interlineary translation into the Oordoo, besides a copious marginal commentary. The church is small, but additions are making. There is a school in the cantonments, attended by the wives and children of the soldiers.

Jessore.—The exertions of Mr. Parry, assisted by three natives, have been unremitted, through successive years. In 1838, six were baptized, and there were fifty-one communicants. In six of the villages were schools, in which two hundred and fifty-nine children were instructed. In 1839, the church consisted of sixty-four members; twenty-two having been admitted during the year. Nilmani, a native preacher, fell a victim to the cholera. In 1840, Mr. Parry was much occupied in visiting markets, villages, and various places throughout a large district, to preach and diffuse the Scriptures and tracts. Caste was renounced by many, and thirty-one natives baptized and received into christian fellowship. He had at that time five, and in 1841, six native assistants. Several were admitted to the church, which then consisted of a hundred and eight members, a hundred and three of whom were natives. In eight villages connected with Jessore were five day schools, containing two hundred children. Of Scriptures 850 volumes, and of tracts 850 in number, had been distributed.

Burisaul, or Barisal.—Mr. Bareiro has continued to labour under disadvantages, but he has visited

many places where he and the christian natives have proclaimed the gospel, and he entertains the conviction that Hindooism is fast undermining.

Dacca.—After the removal of Mr. Robinson to this immense city, supposed to contain 300,000 inhabitants, the church somewhat increased. The principal efforts are made in preaching in the streets, which is little opposed, though the mahometans are numerous, and in the distribution of books, which are received with the utmost avidity. The schools under Mr. Leonard languished for want of support, though they had been large, and embraced many children of christian families, and received European aid. A new chapel was erected in 1840, and the villages diligently visited. One was added to the small church in that year, but none the following; but both Mr. Robinson and Mr. Leonard speak of a widely-diffused spirit of inquiry; and six thousand volumes of the Scriptures had been distributed, together with twenty thousand tracts.

In his most recent communication, Mr. Robinson relates the circumstances of some itinerant visits by himself and Mr. Leonard. Their discussions with the natives and mussulmans were similar to those which have been continually maintained; yet there seems to be a certain providential preparation for the increased spread of the gospel. By one specimen we may perceive the nature of those difficulties which still attend the missionary; and may we not say, too, the gracious aid from the guiding Spirit of God, which is not withheld from his servants in the hour of need? "A bold, wicked-looking man now came forward, and said, 'If it is God's will that all men should believe in

Jesus Christ, why does he not make them all believe on him? He has power to do so.' This objection required a little calm reasoning, but that is out of the question when contending in a crowd with a noisy emissary of Satan. Some blunt reply promptly given is the best on such occasions; and happily one occurred to me at the moment. 'When you are sick, does the doctor force medicine down your throat, or give it into your hand, and leave you to take it or not, just as you please? So God offers you salvation through Jesus Christ; and you can take it or refuse it, just as you please; but he is not obliged to force you to receive it.' This reply satisfied the people, and silenced the objector."

Dinagepore and Sadamahl.—These small churches were early planted, but have in recent years made little progress. The number of members in 1839, in the former was nine,—in the latter twenty-two. In 1841, Mr. Smylie felt a little encouraged by a few additions, making the number in the two churches thirty-four, all natives. There were also eight inquirers. 1258 volumes of the Scriptures, and 4,187 tracts were distributed.

Chittagong.—Messrs. Johannes and Fink have persevered in their labours in this district, but with no very apparent success. A commodious chapel having been erected, was well attended, and the district extensively visited. One of the most important departments of effort is a school for Roman catholics and Bengalee children, in which Mr. Johannes teaches the elements of general knowledge and the doctrines of christianity. Akyab having been relinquished to the American Baptist

Mission, Chittagong is the only station on the Burmese coast in connexion with the Society.

THE ASIATIC ISLANDS.

Ceylon, including Pettah and Slave Island.—In the spring of 1838, Mr. Joseph Harris of St. Albans was sent out by the Society, to aid Mr. Daniel in his important labours. He arrived at Colombo, with Mrs. Harris and his family, on the second of November, when he found Mr. Daniel persevering in his arduous enterprise with unwearying zeal and increasing success. More than thirty persons had been recently added to the churches. A new station had been formed about five miles distant, and a church consisting of twelve members, over which a native pastor had been appointed; and in addition to the revision of the Cingalese Scriptures, Mr. Daniel had published several tracts which had excited much interest. In the following year, the assistant missionary, Mr. Hendrick Siers, died. The loss of one who had served the mission for many years was severely felt. Two of his children soon after joined the church in Colombo. Mr. Harris had suffered much domestic affliction; but had been greatly encouraged by his own and his colleague's successes in connexion with six native preachers. Mr. Daniel had sought out during the year the Veddha and Rodya tribes, dwelling amongst the almost inaccessible forests of the interior, whose condition was extremely low and debased. Through the liberality of the governor, a school was begun amongst the Rodyas.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis, the gospel had been proclaimed in the different

languages spoken there,—the Portuguese, Cingalese, and Tamul. It had been carried also in its gladdening tidings to no fewer than one hundred and seven villages. Twenty-nine schools had been formed, containing one thousand and fifty children, and about a hundred and thirty members had been added to the churches.

In the autumn of 1840, a printing press, with the materials for its effective operation, was transmitted from England at the urgent request of the missionaries, under the care of Mr. C. C. Dawson, who combined ministerial talents with a knowledge of the art of printing.

The year was characterised by the still increasing efforts and successes of the missionaries. In addition to Mr. M'Carty, an assistant missionary filling the station at Slave Island, lately occupied by Mr. Siers, five native teachers were ordained to separate pastorates, making the whole number eight. Alootgama had been abandoned, but three new stations were formed at Hendella, Matamagollah, and Katany, making the number seven, independently of Colombo, where four congregations regularly assembled. The church at Hanwella had increased from seven to forty-two members, and twenty-nine were recently baptized at Matelle notwithstanding violent opposition on the part of the buddhist priests. Five of the number were of the Rodya caste.

Impressed with the importance of making Kandy, the ancient capital of the island, a central point of action, Mr. Harris proposed to remove thither with Mr. Dawson and the printing press, and to attempt an

institution for instructing the native teachers. In the various churches a hundred and thirty members were admitted during the year.

Of 1841, the following summary account is given in the Society's last report. At Colombo, Mr. Daniel had resumed his stated labours, having left Hanwella on Mr. Harris's removal to Kandy. In no part of the missionary field has a greater amount of good been effected by so small an amount of means. Twenty-seven schools and eight stations are regularly supplied; the gospel preached in upwards of a hundred villages by ten native preachers (six of them ordained to pastoral charges), and twenty-seven school-masters,—all for less than £800 a-year; and toward this sum, the auxiliary missionary society on the spot has contributed £170.

At Columbo itself, Mr. Daniel and Mr. M'Carthy are constantly employed in preaching to the people in English, Portuguese, Cingalese, and the Tamul languages. English service is held every Lord's day morning; during the other parts of the day, the gospel is proclaimed in twelve different parts of the town, and fourteen surrounding villages, in the native languages. During the year, seven have been excluded, one restored, and forty-five added to the Colombo church. At Kalany, Hanwella, Weilgama, Kottighawatte, Hendela, and Toomboville, churches have been formed, and services are regularly held with various success. At Weilgama and Kottighawatte places of worship have been erected; at the former, entirely, and at the latter principally, by

the people themselves. Fourteen persons have been added to the Hanwella church, which now consists of thirty-two members; and twelve to the church at Kottighawatte, which numbers fifty-eight. At Byamville forty-three have been baptized; and the total number of members is ninety-four. At Hendela there are thirty-six members, six of whom have been added since the last report; and at Toomboville, where a church of eight members was formed early in the year, three have been baptized, the fruit of the labours of the brethren. The total of these additions, during the year, is a hundred and twenty-four, and the number of members in connexion with Colombo is upwards of three hundred. In the twenty-seven schools supported at the above stations and in the villages around them, there are 1185 children; and as a proof of their general efficiency, and of the blessing of God upon them, some of the most useful native teachers were once scholars in these schools. It is painful to have to add that three schools have been given up for want of funds.

The printing press sent out last year is an object of general admiration, and is already beginning to effect much good. Services have been conducted at Kandy, and at several neighbouring places, with encouraging results. There are about two hundred members in the churches. Towards the chapel recently erected at Kandy upwards of £100 was contributed on the spot. In this district are fifteen schools, with about two hundred and seventy children.

Java.— Notwithstanding the difficulties of his

position.* Mr. Bruckner continued to labour amidst the infirmities of advancing age, for the benefit of the Malayan, Javanese, and Chinese population, by circulating tracts and Scriptures, and by conversation. Not fewer than four thousand of the latter, besides small communities scattered over the country, reside in Samarang. This field, however, filled with the weeds of mahometan error, is very unproductive; though the tracts and portions of the sacred writings are readily received and often read. "On one occasion," Mr. Bruckner says, "when I came with a packet of tracts into one of their streets, many came to ask for them: I heard one say, 'Inèe surat dari Intchi Yaso.' *(These are the books of the Lord Jesus.)* He inquired of a young Javanese, whether the books were read in his neighbourhood, and what people thought of them? He replied, "Certainly they are read, and when we read them, we can only weep over them."

Sumatra.—Mr. N. M. Ward has persevered in his gratuitous services. Versions of the Gospel of John, the Book of Genesis, and a Harmony of the Gospels, have been completed.

* See Vol. I., p. 428, 429.

CHAPTER II.

THE WEST INDIES.

THE advantages resulting from the great act of complete emancipation, not only in the general condition of the people in Jamaica, but in the facilities which were afforded for the diffusion of education and religion, became immediately apparent. Industry and cheerfulness seemed to spring up like a spontaneous growth in these new made fields of freedom, and many of the gentlemen of the island began to dismiss their gloomy anticipations. A person of high professional rank, and a member of assembly, who had deeply participated in fears for the future, assured Mr. Phillippo, that before THE first of August, he had felt determined to part with his properties, but that the people attached to his estates had conducted themselves so satisfactorily, that he believed the country would be greatly benefitted by the change that had occurred; and so convinced was he of the falsehood of the charges preferred against the missionaries by a corrupt press, that he offered a piece of ground, in the midst of a large rural population, to build a chapel and school-house at his own expense, upon condition of its being supplied by a missionary. Nor was this the feeling of an individual only, it was that of most of the respectable resident proprietors. Mr. Clark, at Brown's

Town, on the opposite side of the island, gave a similar testimony. Old and young were learning to read, and the schools as well as the chapels were frequented. The testimony, in fact, from every quarter agreed.

Subsequently, however, representations were made impeaching the conduct of the newly created freemen, accusing them of unwillingness to labour on terms of equitable remuneration; and it was even asserted that some of the missionaries had encouraged them in their injurious course. These futile assertions were again and again disproved by persons not immediately connected with the mission, while the missionaries themselves—whose solemn asseverations, though they were the accused party, surely merited the fullest credence—solemnly denied such statements. We need only quote here the testimony of Sir Lionel Smith, in reply to an address from the ministers of the Baptist Western Union in Jamaica.

"On my assuming the government of this colony, I strongly expressed my reliance on the whole body of missionaries, in their high integrity of purpose, and in their loyal principles. You more than realised all the benefits I expected from your ministry, by raising the negroes from the mental degradations of slavery, to the cheering obligations of christianity; and they were thus taught that patient endurance of evil which has so materially contributed to the general tranquillity. Even with the aid of a vicious and well-paid press, both in England and Jamaica, and, it may be presumed, some habitual confidence in Jamaica juries, the enemies of your religion have never dared to go to the proof of their audacious accusations against you.

"Gentlemen, the first year of freedom has passed away. What were the forebodings of its enemies? Where are the vagrants? where the squatters? where the injuries against proprietors, or the persons of white men? Out of the three hundred thousand oppressed slaves let loose in one day to equal rights and liberty, not a human being of that mass has committed himself in any of those dreaded offences.

"The admirable conduct of the peasantry in such a crisis, has constituted a proud triumph to the cause of religion; and those who contributed to enlighten them in their moral duties, through persecutions, insults, and dangers, have deserved the regard and esteem of the good and the just in all christian countries."

Nor were these the only calumnies put in circulation. The purity of the churches was again assailed, and the arrangements adopted for their inspection and government. Reports detrimental to them and the interests of the Society were especially made, with reiterated vehemence in Scotland, which induced the committee to seek an interview with the detractor; when they found that the statements were either stale repetitions of past-refuted calumnies, or misapprehensions of facts. To take nothing for granted, however, they sent a copy of the alleged evils and delinquencies, which reached the annual association, held at Montego Bay, in January, 1839; which afforded the missionaries an opportunity of transmitting such an account of their churches in detail, as to increase, instead of diminish, the confidence they had hitherto cherished.

Mr. Knibb's subsequent testimony to the improved condition of the people is at once explicit and

unquestionable. "In the baptist churches, as in the Society of Friends, we support our own poor. We do not merely wish to lift them above starvation point, but make them comfortable. It is to be seen in the diminution of crime. In the community in which I dwell, and which is pre-eminently a community of baptist agitators, there are 125,000 individuals. At the last assizes only nineteen were tried. Let us dissect them; six of them were white men, three were acquitted of the crimes laid to their charge, and there was not a female delinquent among the whole. In the parish in which I dwell, containing 30,000 individuals, at the last quarter-sessions only one person was tried. And when that inestimable man, Mr. Gurney, visited the jail at Falmouth, he found only one person in it, and that was a white man. When I went to the treadmill, for I have been there, and some have said I deserved to go there every day, I asked permission to go upon it; but the supervisor said, 'Mr. Knibb, it is of no use,—it is rusty. The fact is, that ever since the first of August, 1838, we never have been able to muster hands enough to turn it, and down it must come.' And I say, down let it come. When the treadmill was erected, I stood by the custos of the parish, who said, 'Mr. Knibb, don't you think we shall improve the morals of the people by the mill?' 'No, no,' I replied; 'if you have any old gouty gentlemen, it might improve their legs;' but it did not enter into my theology that the exercise of the treadmill would promote the morality of the people. But are not these delightful facts? Are not these triumphant refutations? Are they not the connecting link between the

brute and the man? In the parish of St. Ann's, where my brother Abbott lives, and he is an agitator, and a chief agitator too, to such a pitch of refinement have we got, that the jail has been shut up for six months, and the jailer is pensioned off till he is wanted again. The last time I was here, I informed you that in Westmoreland, a deacon was flogged for praying; and on passing over that scene of cruelty some time ago, it was entirely grown over with thorns; the place is no longer wanted; it is shut up, and the keeper is paid off." *

The return made from the respective churches to the association, evinced that the work of God continued to advance in an encouraging degree. A nett increase of 2617 had taken place in the number of members, which then amounted to 21,337. The inquirers were 20,919. A large increase was also reported in the number of pupils receiving instruction in the schools. The day schools contained 5413, the evening schools, 577, and 10,127 were taught on the sabbath, making a total of 16,117, being 5214 beyond the number previously reported. As a further proof of the rapid growth of those habits and feelings which are the best security for the social welfare of a community, the missionaries had solemnized 1942 marriages during the year.

A brief sketch of the general progress in each church may here suffice.

Montego Bay.—Mr. Burchell pursued his important labours amidst unfounded obloquy and much personal

* Speech at Exeter Hall,

affliction. In 1839, his health was feeble, and his efforts were too severe for his constitution; but they were exceedingly successful. The church was increased by a hundred and ninety-nine members during the year. Mr. Andrews, who had the schools under his care, died, and Mr. Jabez Tunley was sent by the committee to supply his place. In 1840, the number of members of the church, with its various branches, had grown, in seventeen years, from thirteen to upwards of three thousand, with nearly an equal number of inquirers. At two of the out-stations, two chapels were erecting. The health of Mr. Burchell continued to be precarious, from the extent of his labours.

Falmouth.—The ardent celebrations of the great day of freedom in this place were distasteful to some, who renewed their hostility against Mr. Knibb, which found no better vent than to burn him in effigy. This proceeding exceedingly alarmed the negroes, and might have led to serious results, but for his prompt explanations and exertions, aided by E. B. Lyon, Esq., a special magistrate for the district. At Falmouth, two hundred and thirty-five, and at the Refuge, thirty-five were added; making in the two churches 2156 members, besides 1340 inquirers, in 1838. By the aid of friends in England, Mr. Knibb purchased a tract of ground, with a view of furnishing a residence and occupation hereafter for the peasantry, who might thus find their own subsistence, and strengthen the interests of the colony.

In 1839, the churches at Falmouth, Refuge, and Waldensia, received three hundred and eighty-two

members, and had ninety-nine inquirers. A noble spirit of christian benevolence displayed itself in the support afforded with untiring zeal to the ministry and the schools, as well as in the discharge of a heavy debt incurred in building chapels.

The annual assocation was held at Falmouth in February, 1841, to report upon the state of the churches during the preceding year. Nearly all the missionaries assembled, and the spirit of christian harmony and affection was predominant. The number of members in communion was reported to be 27,706, being nearly three thousand more than the preceding year; of inquirers, the number was 18,984; marriages, 1256.

In the absence of Mr. Knibb, the churches of Falmouth, Refuge, and Waldensia were regularly supplied. Mr. J. E. Henderson proceeded from England to this favoured district, and on Mr. Knibb's return he soon after took charge of the latter station, where more than five hundred members awaited him. He has recently completed the necessary buildings for a normal school at the village of Kettering, in Trelawney, for the training of the native and other schoolmistresses both for Jamaica and Africa. The buildings consist of a general school-room, forty feet by forty, a normal girls' school-room for thirty children, and the necessary apartments for the board and lodging of twelve females, the expense of which rests on himself. The general school is under the care of the orphan son of his brother, who was the first schoolmaster sent to Jamaica by the Baptist Missionary Society, and who died seventeen years ago. The female department is under the care of Miss Ann Anstie. There are about one hundred

at present in both schools: in the normal department nine; two of these are redeemed slaves from Africa, two are the orphans of deluded white emigrants, and and four are native females; these live entirely at the establishment.

Stewart Town and Rio Bueno.—The congregations enabled Mr. Dexter to discharge the debts on the chapels, but he was necessitated, for the health of his family, to build a dwelling-house. Two of the schoolmasters connected with the church, Messrs. Gibson and Dillon, assisted in the labours of the pulpit; and a third station was formed, called New Birmingham, by the dismission of fifty-four members from Rio Bueno.

In 1839, notwithstanding the numbers that went to New Birmingham, the attendance at Stewart Town was as good as in the previous year. Several young persons from the Sunday school were baptized, and there were hopeful appearances of others. The number of scholars had nearly doubled, and many of the older members had entered who were before unable to read. Mr. Gibson was compelled to quit his employment as schoolmaster at New Birmingham from ill health. Twenty were added to the little church at the close of the year. Sixty-two were added at Rio Bueno, and one hundred and sixteen at Stewart Town.

In 1840, Mr. Dexter found it necessary to associate another missionary with him, on account of the urgent solicitations from the more distant stations for further aid. Mr. P. H. Cornford, accordingly, was appointed on his arrival from England to Rio Bueno. The progress of the stations was gratifying. They had their

trials, "but," as Mr. Dexter wrote, "they had done them good." From the beginning of the year, or from their revival meetings in the preceding November, the church at Stewart Town was more vigorous than he had ever known it before, and though the number baptized had not equalled the two previous years, yet the word of God seemed to be more effectual than ever. The cause is daily advancing. The most recent account states, that on the 9th of July, 1842, forty-one persons were baptized by Mr. Dexter at the River Head. The spectators were numerous, and the occasion solemn.

St. Ann's Bay, Ocho Rios, and Coultart's Grove.—As in other places, fresh accommodation was required for the crowds that repaired to the sanctuary. In 1839, two new chapels were opened in St. Ann's Bay and Ocho Rios; and two other places, Staceyville, in Clarendon, and Llandovery, in St. Ann's, were visited with the gospel. The various congregations supplied by Mr. Abbott comprised four thousand persons at least. Two of the stations were thirty-six miles apart. In 1840, showers of blessing continued to descend. Although the chapel at St. Ann's Bay had been enlarged twice within three years, and two branch stations were formed out of the congregation, it was too small, notwithstanding that it held two thousand hearers. Mr. Abbott stated in September, that one hundred and twenty-two were baptized, and joined to the church; including these, two hundred and sixty-nine had been added to the churches under his care within about two months. He speaks of six hundred young people under twenty years of age, many of whom were under

pious impressions. Mr. Benjamin Millard, from Stepney College, has been sent out to join him.

Brown's Town.—A new station has been occupied by Mr. John Clark at Bethany, and schools established in St. Ann's and at Mount Zion, in Clarendon, whither young men from the church went as schoolmasters. The two churches contained in 1839 nearly fifteen hundred members. By exertions made on the day of freedom and soon afterwards, a considerable debt on their chapel was removed, but the multiplication of hearers rendered it necessary to enlarge both the places of worship.

The annual association was held here in January, 1840, when the collective amount of members added to the churches appeared to be 24,777, with 21,111 inquirers, showing the additions of the previous year to have been 3440 and 192 respectively. The attendance in the schools had somewhat diminished, owing chiefly to the multiplication of them in other connexions.

The chapels in Brown's Town and Bethany, though enlarged, had been found insufficient to accommodate the increasing number of hearers. A subordinate station was therefore formed at Sturge Town, about seven or eight miles distant; and another beyond Bethany. Mr. H. J. Dutton was sent out by the committee to aid Mr. Clark in this important and widening sphere of labour.

In 1840, this district was eminently blessed. Brown's Town, with the subordinate stations of Sturge Town and Buxton, were supplied by Mr. Clark; while Clarkson Town, Stepney, Mount Zion, and Carlisle, enjoyed the ministry of Mr. Dutton. The nett increase

of these churches during the year was seven hundred and thirty-three; all these were received only after the most rigid and repeated examinations.

Salter's Hill and Bethtephil.—At these places two hundred and twenty-four were baptized in 1838. Mr. Dendy formed a new station at Maldon, where he purchased land to be sold in small lots to the negroes. A small station, also, was begun in St. Elizabeth's, at Prospect. In 1839, it was necessary to enlarge both the chapels. Some painful circumstances, requiring discipline, had occurred; but two hundred and forty-three were united to the churches. Mr. Pickton, assistant minister and superintendant of the day school at Salter's Hill, was ordained as a missionary, and associated with Mr. Dendy. A newly formed station at Bethsalem, in St. Elizabeth's, had been recently supplied by Mr. George Webb, from Bristol College; but in 1840, when the difficulties incidental to a fresh undertaking were beginning to disappear, he died of consumption. Mr. John May, who went from Saltash, Devon, succeeded him. A church of eighty-seven members was gathered during the year, and a second formed by Mr. May at Middle Quarters, a few miles distant.

Anotta Bay.—This and Buff Bay partook largely of the general prosperity after the day of freedom, and two hundred and thirty-four were added during the year. But in the following, a check seemed to have been given by the illness of Mr. Barlow, and by differences which had arisen between him and the people. These churches were left destitute by his decease on the 11th of January, 1841. To this station Mr. J. Dallewell succeeded.

Port Maria and Oracabessa.—Mr. Day, having removed from Gurney's Mount, became pastor of these churches after a long vacancy. In 1839, one hundred and fourteen were added by baptism to the church. In 1840, the two congregations, brought into union with a third at *Bagnal's Vale,* comprised three thousand persons. At Port Maria a chapel was in the course of erection, and the missionary much encouraged by the readiness of the people to afford aid to the utmost of their power. There were upwards of three hundred additions, one hundred and ninety-nine of whom were baptized in the sea at Oracabessa, on the joyful anniversary of their freedom, at the landing-place of Columbus in 1494.

Manchioneal, or *Belle Castle, and Long Bay.*—Mr. Kingdon found it necessary, from the great enlargement of the congregation, to erect a new and more capacious edifice, including a school-room. The church also prospered. In 1839, the cause continued to extend, and the churches under his care had received a nett increase during the year, of fifty-nine. There were one hundred and fifty children in the Sunday school. In 1840, Mr. Kingdon opened a new station at Denmark Hill, thirteen miles from Manchioneal. A wattled chapel was built at Long Bay. Including both stations, thirty-five had been added.

Lucea and Green Island.—These, with Gurney's Mount, were supplied with a pastor, Mr. E. J. Francies, in August, 1839. This very much inspirited the people, and soon enlarged the cause, till the place of worship became too strait for them. In 1840, the chapel advanced but slowly for want of funds. This

was felt by Mr. Francies as very disadvantageous; but many were added to the number of the believers. The station at *Gurney's Mount*, at a considerable distance from Lucea, and comparatively inaccessible, was entrusted to Mr. Edward Woolley.

Spanish Town.—Besides this place, with its dependent stations at Passage Fort and Sligoville, where Mr. Phillippo's diligent exertions were crowned with eminent success, new settlements were formed in 1839, by the purchase of land, and its allotment in small divisions to the free peasantry. Three of the new villages were named Sturge Town, Kitson Town, and Clarkson Town, in all of which schools were established, and worship occasionally conducted. No fewer than five thousand persons were connected with the stations under Mr. Phillippo's direction, with still increasing numbers.

Mr. Phillippo has persevered, amidst much pecuniary difficulty, in his exertions for the rising generation. Ten schools were in constant operation in 1840, requiring an outlay of nearly £800 per annum; and no aid had been either received or solicited from government. In these schools, and in twelve others for adults, conducted on as many contiguous estates, there were 2692 pupils; and so generally were the benefits of education appreciated and diffused, that at Sligoville, the principal of those new settlements formed by Mr. Phillippo, but few children of five years of age were unable to read the Scriptures. To render assistance both in the work of education and in the ministry, Mr. William Hume had lately been sent to Spanish Town; and more recently, Mr. Williams, from Bristol

College. He was destined to a new and promising station in the parish of Manchester, which Mr. Phillippo had been induced to form by the earnest solicitations of many of the labouring population, seconded by gentlemen of influence in the neighbourhood.

Kingston.—After Mr. Oughton's removal to take the pastoral charge in East Queen Street, the chapel was enlarged, with a church of more than three thousand members. Many who had wandered both in doctrine and practice were restored to the fold. In the midst of his labours, however, Mr. Oughton was involved in considerable embarassment and vexation, in consequence of measures which he, in conjunction with a clergyman in the parish of Hanover, had adopted, before he left that neighbourhood, to promote the purity of their people. Legal proceedings were taken, and excessive damages awarded. The whole transaction was characterised by such flagrant injustice, that a subscription was immediately raised in England to defray the costs of the defence. At length, after an imprisonment of several weeks, farther proceedings were arrested, and he was released amidst the strongest demonstrations of public joy.

Mr. George Rouse having several years conducted a school in England on the British system, succeeded Mr. Whitehorne in the institution at East Queen Street, and engaged to assist Mr. Oughton in other labours incident to the station. He is now ordained as a missionary.

Mr. Tinson received fifty-eight into his church at Hanover Street and forty-two at *Yallahs* during the year (1839). The school at the latter place was conducted by Mr. Rae, and was prosperous.

In 1840, notwithstanding the interruptions to active service occasioned by his personal affliction, the churches over which Mr. Tinson presided were more than usually prosperous. Fifty-one were baptized at Hanover Street; and ninety-seven, who had been previously connected with the native baptists, on their own request, were, after careful examination, admitted into fellowship. Twelve members had been removed by death, three of whom had maintained a consistent and honourable profession for nearly fifty years. At *Yallahs*, the progress of the church had been such that it contained five hundred and forty-nine members, seventy-six of whom had been added in the year. At *Mount Atlas*, a new church was formed in October, when thirty-eight members were dismissed from Hanover Street for the purpose. Its numbers were fifty-one. It was supplied by a deacon of the church in Kingston.

Jericho.—Owing to illness, Mr. Clarke was compelled to take a voyage to America in the early part of 1838, which, though useful, was not sufficiently efficacious to enable him to resume his labours; and he was therefore compelled to revisit his native land. Messrs. Richard and Joseph Merrick occupied his place, and previously to his departure, he enjoyed the pleasure of witnessing their ordination to the christian ministry. This was the first instance in which Africans by descent were brought into union with the mission in Jamaica. At the association, a hundred and one were reported as added to the church in 1838; and soon after, a hundred and sixty-seven were admitted by Mr. Clarke to baptism. In 1839, five hundred and thirty-nine

were added to the church at Jericho and the smaller ones connected with it. A township, also, was begun on ground which had been purchased by Mr. Clarke, to be called "Victoria," to commemorate the boon of emancipation conferred in the reign of her majesty. In 1840, the state of the churches connected together with Jericho was highly prosperous. Sunday schools had been formed, including all the members of the church, so that every individual who desired it might be taught to read. Mr. Clarke having in England devoted himself to Africa, their hearts were much engaged in that design. For this object, rigid self-denial was practised in their domestic economy, and a society was formed among the children in the Jericho school, for the purpose of making clothes to send to children in Africa. This district contributed a hundred pounds towards the parent Society, the mothers putting small pieces of silver into the hands of their little infants, to give at the collection. One hundred and sixty-two were admitted by baptism into the churches at Jericho and Mount Hermon, and a considerably greater number were waiting for admission. An enlargement of the chapel at Jericho was in progress, to contain two thousand persons.

Four Paths and Ebony Chapel.—Mr. Reid has been much impeded through want of health; but though he contemplated removing to another part of the island, he was induced to remain, at the earnest request of the people. His chapels were fully attended, and his churches increased by several additions in 1839. He had also commenced visiting a very destitute district in the mountains. Success has not been wanting.

Old Harbour, New Lionel, and Mount Freedom.—In December, 1838, Mr. Taylor reported seventy-eight persons recently admitted to the church, an increased attendance in the congregation, and facilities for extending the cause in the surrounding district. In 1839, though much impeded by illness, his efforts had been greatly prospered; so that two hundred and ninety-six were added to the church. He had commenced a new station in the parish of Vere, and had purchased premises in Clarendon, which were deemed eligible as a site for an institution that had been proposed for training native candidates for the ministry. A Christian Instruction Society had been recently formed, which promised to be useful. In 1840, Mount Clarendon had an accession of a hundred and sixty-six members, and Old Harbour of a still larger number.

Savanna-la-Mar and Fuller's Field.—Although Mr. Hutchins experienced personal affliction and domestic bereavement, great prosperity attended the churches. Fifty-six members were added. A severe trial, however, was experienced in the destruction of their chapel by a fire which raged extensively in the town. The people had but just made a great effort to discharge a debt on the premises. Much sympathy was excited throughout the island, and among other donations, fifty pounds were presented to them by the governor. In 1840, the ministry had been abundantly successful both at Savanna-la-Mar and Fuller's Field; a hundred and twenty having been received into the former church, and ninety-five into the latter. Mr. Hutchins formed a new station about twenty miles from Fuller's Field, which he called Bunyan's Mount; and more recently a

fourth, in that part of St. Elizabeth's which borders upon Westmoreland.

At the last association of the churches, held in Kingston, January, 1842, the ministers unanimously resolved, as an appropriate commemoration at once of the day of freedom and the jubilee of the mission, to detach themselves from the funds of the parent Society after the *first of August ensuing*,—a decision not only honourable to themselves, but highly important as affording the opportunity of sending the gospel to others of the Western Isles, as well as, it is to be hoped, to the remoter regions of the globe. This has been resolved, too, when during the year the churches in Jamaica have contributed about a thousand pounds to the Society, besides supporting, to a great extent, both their own pastors and schools.

At this association, Mr. Knibb was again requested to visit England, for the purpose of giving a full explanation of the state of the churches, as an answer to calumnies that had been circulated respecting their internal condition, as well as to promote the interests of the African mission and the theological seminary then in contemplation.

In tracing the remarkable prosperity, under God, of the churches in Jamaica, one cannot but observe the kind of instrumentality that has been and is constantly employed. Without adverting to the *men*, whose praise for holy zeal and fortitude is in all the churches, the *measures* adopted have been evidently conducive to the general and extraordinary progress of the mission. In addition to the preaching of the

gospel, the establishment of schools, and the various other assiduities brought into action, it cannot be questioned that extensive good is accomplished by the system of class meetings. By judicious arrangements of this description, the pastors enjoy the effective co-operation of the officers of the churches and members themselves, which, considering their magnitude and wide dispersion, is of the utmost importance. The churches are generally divided into districts according to their localities. These districts meet weekly, or oftener, for prayer and religious conversation. The more intelligent and pious of the members preside, and report the state of their districts from time to time to the pastor. The same plan is adopted in reference to inquirers, and thus a larger number of persons have the benefits of religious training than could possibly receive them by other means.

It is thus evident that pastors, either by their personal visitations, or through their well-known members, come into contact with the religious experience of every one attached to their respective churches. If converts are admitted in great numbers, it is surely cause for abounding gratitude, for they are not admitted without the utmost care, nor do they continue in christian association without a minute and perpetual superintendence. This is a plan which, were it adopted in England amongst the congregational dissenters as it is amongst the methodists, must be attended, as in Jamaica, with manifest advantages; for when judiciously and conscientiously managed, it so brings every member into contact with every other, as greatly to tend to maintain the purity and increase the moral

power of professing communities. The health of the whole body is promoted by a diligent and perpetual attention to every part, that disease may nowhere work insidiously and dangerously, but be stopped at its earliest indications, and effectually eradicated.

BAHAMAS.

The cause at Nassau, in New Providence, subsequently to the return of Mr. Burton through illness, suffered considerable depression, till another pastor was provided in Mr. Henry Capern, who relinquished his charge of the church in Long Buckby, in Northamptonshire, in order to occupy that station. He went out in the spring of 1840, and arrived on the 11th of June, when he found the mission premises out of repair, and the people much scattered. In the first year of his residence, however, their affairs seemed to be restored, additions were made to the church, and they numbered two hundred and fifty members. Mr. McDonald, a native preacher, was placed at Great Bahama, to proclaim the gospel to his countrymen. The committee also sent Mr. Littlewood to his aid, who had been some time under the instruction of Mr. Clements of Halstead.

Mr. Quant laboured with zeal amidst extreme privations and danger, at the extremity of the Bahama group, at the distance of five hundred miles from Nassau. Thirty-five members were added to his church in 1838; but the islands were visited by a furious hurricane, by which their staple commodity, salt, was lost for the season; and the poor people in consequence deprived of the means of their accustomed

liberality in supporting the cause of God. In 1839, four were baptized in Heneagua and Salt Cay, and seventeen at Turk's Island, where the congregation had greatly increased after Mr. Littlewood's settlement, and the spirit of hearing displayed itself extremely in the outer islands. In 1840-1, Mr. Quant continued to labour with diligence and success; and twenty-nine had been added to the churches at Grand Cay, Salt Cay, and Heneagua. On three of the islands he had been able to erect places of worship, notwithstanding the poverty of the people.

The missionaries devote a portion of the year to visit the out-islands, and are uniformly received with the greatest attention and kindness. The eagerness of the people for the word of life, while it rejoices, afflicts, on account of the present inability of the missionaries to provide for their spiritual necessities.

In 1841-2, the number one hundred and eight united to the church at Nassau, showed its revived state; and one hundred and four were added at the out-islands. Infant and Sunday schools had been formed, containing one hundred and forty children.

In Turk's Island, the spirit of hearing continues manifest, and excites grateful joy. Mr. Littlewood gives the following specimen of zeal and devotedness. "Being about to visit the out-islands, I determined to take a mason with me to finish the chapels. After a few hours' sail, we arrived at the first settlement. In the evening I preached to a crowded congregation, and after service told the people that I had brought a mason to repair the chapel, and that I wanted all present to come in the morning to fetch water, sand,

&c. In the morning by sun-rise, I was delighted beyond measure. Nearly one hundred persons were in the yard ready to assist me. Such noble exertion did they make, that the work the mason expected to have been a fortnight in completing, was accomplished in a day and a half. We held service every morning at four o'clock, and every evening. The chapel was always filled. I spent the day either in visiting the neighbours or examining the inquirers; and before I left, thirteen were added to the church."

Sixty-five have been added at these different stations, and the total number of members is about three hundred and twenty. There is one infant school at Grand Cay, with sixty children.

HONDURAS—BELIZE.

In 1839, the health of Mr. Henderson suffered much, in consequence of all the labour of the station devolving upon him after the decease of Mr. Philpot; but the sphere of operations gradually enlarged. Additions were continually made to the church, so that in 1841 it consisted of more than one hundred members. A young man of great promise, Mr. William Weatherall, was sent out to his assistance, but perished under the power of fever, on his passage. A second missionary, Mr. C. H. Hosken of Clonmel, was sent in the beginning of that year. A new chapel was erected at Baker's Bank, twenty miles up the river, aided by the liberality of a resident proprietor whose family had received a blessing from the occasional ministry of Mr. Henderson, and nearly all the expense defrayed. Mr. F. Horsfall has been occupied since

at this station. Mr. Crowe, who had long assisted the schools at Belize, was appointed in 1841, by the Central American Agricultural Society, as chaplain and school-master to a settlement at the distance of two hundred and fifty miles in the Mosquito country. He now labours at Abbotsville with success. Two others in connexion with the church are about to proceed to important spheres; one belonging to the Charib tribe of Indians, the original inhabitants of the country. The governor of the colony has presented the mission with land for a burial ground. Forty-four persons were baptized during the last year; and the gospel is now proclaimed at four important places on the coast, where English and Africans compose the congregations chiefly at some, and at others Spaniards and Indians. Mr. Henderson is aided by seven teachers and native preachers. Fifty-four have been recently added to the church at Belize, making the total number of members one hundred and thirty-two.

CHAPTER III.

AFRICA.

When the chapels were destroyed in Jamaica, christianity arose in her majesty and might, indignant at the outrage; but she was not satisfied to repair the injury, or even to enlarge and multiply her tabernacles of worship. Looking abroad in the hour of her triumph over the ocean that was red with the blood of Africa, she inspired her new converts in the West with the holy desire of going to proclaim the everlasting gospel which had made them new creatures in Christ, to the inhabitants of their father-land. It was a proof of the expansive charity of the religion of the cross, an evidence that it has nothing in it of a monopolising spirit, but that those who are under its influence become at once solicitous of imparting the benefits they receive; in receiving and in bestowing being doubly blessed.

Early after the day of full emancipation, a black of the name of Keith, in connexion with Mr. Gardner's church, sold what he possessed, after purchasing a few clothes only, in the spirit of martyrdom left a beloved companion for two years, and worked his passage out to Africa to proclaim—and he did proclaim *on the very spot whence he had been stolen*—the gospel of salvation.

There grew up, in fact, from the first a most anxious concern among the converted negroes for Africa, and they failed not to stimulate their ministers as well as each other to attempt something for its spiritual welfare. On this subject, indeed, they manifested the utmost intensity of feeling; nor were the missionaries slow to respond to and encourage them.

"By a recent decision of her majesty's goverment," said Mr. Knibb, addressing a British audience in 1840, "the slave-ships which used to be captured and sent to Cuba, where the poor Africans are still made slaves, are now sent to us. In an official communication which I have received from the individual who is appointed by government to parcel them out, he says, 'If you or your Society want men from whom you may learn the language, you shall have the pick of every ship that comes in.' I have in my house at the present time a most interesting young man from Gouna, on the borders of Lake Shad. He was selling commodities on the Niger when he was taken. He was brought to Montego Bay. He knows much of the upper part of that mighty river. You might have seen that African, who, six months before, was in the wilds of his native country, taking into his lap the child of a missionary, to learn to say his A B C. He is a mahometan by birth and by profession; but I am confident they have only taken up with that religion because christians have not sent them a better. It was but the other day that the son of one of the largest slave-dealers in Africa came to me. He is a most intelligent young man, and a christian. He was sent by his father to Cuba in a slave vessel which was captured by a British

cruiser. He was taken to Bermuda, and finding that his rank was gone, he enlisted into the army. He heard the sound of the gospel from one of your missionaries, he became a decided christian, and he asks you as he asked me to send him back to Africa with others. I have heard him say, 'I will then tell my father not to sell his countrymen any more.' So convinced was Sir Lionel Smith that he was the son of King Bell of Africa, that he offered him to us, whenever we could send him out. I called together the Africans of the churches of Kingston who felt interested in Africa. Between twenty and thirty assembled, and mentioning the objects I had in view, one of them said, 'I will go as your shoe black if you will take me.' I asked him when he would be ready to go. 'To-morrow,' was his reply. I said to them, 'Perhaps you would be made slaves if you were to go.' What was their answer? 'We have been made slaves for men, we can be made slaves for Christ.'"

From the association held at Montego Bay in January, 1839, a representation was addressed by the missionaries to the committee, on the desirableness of planting a mission in Western Africa, accompanied by assurances of the willingness of their people to render all the pecuniary aid in their power. A proposal was also made to commence a theological institution in some convenient part of the island, at which those members of the churches who appear to possess gifts for the christian ministry might acquire sound biblical information.

When Mr. Knibb visited England in 1840, repeated conferences were held with him on the subject, and the

committee, on the 3rd of June, came to the following resolution:—"That, in compliance with the representations of our brethren in Jamaica, and following what we apprehend to be the clear indications of providence, we determine, in reliance on the divine blessing, to commence a mission to Western Africa." This was an act of faith; for at the time, the usual income of the Society was inadequate to its expenditure, a debt of more than three thousand pounds existed, every department of the mission demanded renewed help, and Jamaica loudly appealed for ten additional missionaries.

After much consideration it was deemed important to send forth two brethren to explore the western coast of Africa near and on the banks of the Niger, in order to ascertain the best method of procedure hereafter, and to make such preliminary arrangements as might facilitate the introduction of the gospel chiefly by native agency, not only into the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, but by means of the river into the interior and central regions of that benighted land. A deep sense of British responsibility—a profound recollection of the wrongs which her mercenary traffickers in blood had inflicted there year after year and age after age upon outraged humanity—a kindling hope that the "glorious gospel of the blessed God" might be introduced into the very countries where every degree of violence and every form of cruelty and crime had been perpetrated—gave to this new project of christian benevolence an immediate and extraordinary popularity. An eagerness to aid in this good work was everywhere expressed, and appeals on its behalf were everywhere welcomed.

When the measure itself had been determined, the first inquiry of course was to obtain such individuals as might be best qualified to become explorers and pioneers in this new and arduous enterprise. This was a question of the greatest moment, as much was likely to depend, under God, upon those who began the work. It evidently required, in addition to the ordinary attributes of the true missionary, a happy combination of zeal and judgment, a physical as well as mental capacity of enduring hardships, and especially it demanded persons, if such could be found, accustomed to the negro character, and inured to a burning and pestilential climate. These requisites, with the still further advantage of medical competency, were most providentially secured. Mr. John Clarke from Jericho, a missionary in Jamaica of long tried character and experience, and at the very time a visitor in his native land, as if to be prepared for the crisis, occurred to the thoughts of the committee; and upon the communication of their wishes, they had the satisfaction of receiving from him a prompt reply, expressive of his readiness to devote himself to the work. At the time of this application, he was anticipating a return, with recruited health, to his beloved and numerous flock in Jamaica; but discarding every personal consideration, he gave himself to the service in the spirit of a ready self-consecration to God. It then appeared, that he had for several years, thought often and felt deeply on the wrongs of Africa, and had diligently amassed a store of information on the subject, without suspecting the purpose to which it was to be applied, and for which, in the ordering of providence, he was sent to England.

As it was deemed important, not only that he should be associated with another, but that his companion should possess a knowledge of physic, inquiries were extensively set on foot for the purpose of obtaining, in this respect, a suitable associate; and just at the time when the committee were beginning to feel despair of success, and within a very short period of the time fixed for the sailing of the vessel in which Mr. Clarke was to proceed on his voyage, Dr. G. K. Prince, a medical practitioner of great reputation, who had been eminently successful in Jamaica, and who had made large temporal sacrifices for the gospel, being at liberty, intimated his readiness to accompany his friend to share his perils and his labours.

Application was made for a passage in the government steamers, proceeding on an expedition up the Niger, with a view to accomplish, in unison with an African society for the purpose, the civilisation of that continent, by the purchase of lands, and the institution of a commercial intercourse; but this was declined. The *Golden Spring*, however, a vessel belonging to the African Company, was carrying out coals for the expedition; and in the spirit of their divine undertaking, they readily took up their abode in this humble barque, careless of their own accommodation, bent only on the salvation of Africa. Another and unexpected circumstance of an auspicious kind occurred, in the kindness of the late governor of Fernando Po, Lieut.-colonel Nicholls, who not only furnished them with letters of introduction to several of the native chieftains, but supplied them, from the stores of his own experience, with much valuable information.

Two or three services of a valedictory character were held on the eve of their departure; particularly one of peculiar interest at the author's chapel at Hackney, on sabbath evening, October the 11th, 1840; when each of the deputation entered into details of christian experience and the intended plans of operation, and engaged the sympathies and prayers of a numerous assembly. A deeply interested circle of friends (among whom was Mr. Knibb, then about to return to Jamaica), joined with them in the commemorative festival of the christian church.

They embarked on Tuesday the 13th. On the 16th, they wrote from the Downs in terms which strongly depicted the *missionary state* of their hearts, as the extract of a few passages will show. "We have proceeded thus far onward towards Fernando Po, to which we look with intense interest, as if the distance lying between were nothing. The good hand of God is upon us. * * * Thus, my beloved friend, we go forward in the strength of God,—we lean upon his arm,—we know he leads us on, and directs us by the cloudy and fiery pillar of his providence, and comforts us by his sure word of promise, and cheers us by the communications of his Holy Spirit. Our very trials, though they have yet been few, are pleasant, because we endure them from love to Christ and to souls, and look forward to the recompense of the reward. It is not for us to fear, or to prognosticate whether we shall live to labour and return, or leave our bodies in the African wilderness; all we have to do is to work for God while God grants us strength to labour for him,—to work so that our friends at home will approve

—that our own consciences will approve—that God our Father, who knows each motion of the heart that excites to action, will approve: then, while we can labour, we labour for God; when we suffer, we suffer according to the will of God; and when we die, we rest from our labours, and our works do follow us. We throw ourselves at the feet of Jesus, and thank and adore him for employing us, and for crowning our efforts for his glory with success. * * * I do believe the fields are white to the harvest. Two men are already willing to repair to Africa—zealous, devoted men of God; and I do hope that not a few will speedily come from Jamaica, and Bahamas, and other islands of the west, to reap, in their father-land, the great harvest of the Lord. May he prepare and send such labourers into his harvest-field, and make them abundantly successful! Pray for us, dear brother,—let not your church forget to pray for us,—let none of the churches in the land forget to pray for us, and for Afric's salvation."*

After touching at Cape Palmas and Cape Coast Castle, they reached their primary destination, Fernando Po, on the first of January, 1841, and speedily took up their abode in the town of Clarence. On the first sabbath, Mr. Clarke preached from the appropriate words, "And the angel said unto them, Fear not; for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." About two hundred and fifty attended, and in the evening he again preached, and had a still larger congregation to

* Letter to the author.

hear from his lips the words of eternal life. On the Monday evening, he commenced service in their dwelling, and every evening, when at Clarence, the people assembled in numbers varying from fifty to eighty and a hundred, to listen for an hour to the reading and expounding of the truths of God.

The town of Clarence contains a hundred and seventy houses, and seventeen at Krou town, adjoining; besides seven large houses belonging to the West African Company. There are in Clarence about seven hundred inhabitants, and of Kroumen, at Krou town and hiding in the woods, three hundred. The Adeeyahs, or aboriginal inhabitants, are from five to ten thousand souls. In the course of the first month, they met the people at three of their towns, and had about six hundred of them in all to hear. They are a harmless race of people, not so covetous as most of the Africans, and expressed themselves glad that white men were come to instruct them respecting God, and the way to be happy.

The climate of Fernando Po is probably not worse than other parts of Western Africa. It has this advantage, you can get up to the mountains as high as is necessary, and obtain a cool and pleasant retreat. The house of Colonel Nicholls is three thousand feet up the mountain, about ten miles from Clarence. On the way, about five miles, are four Adeeyah towns, in which there may be about eight hundred, or perhaps a thousand inhabitants.

The Adeeyahs are vulgarly called "boobies;" their huts are scattered over the island in different directions. Those nearest to each other form a town. They are a

timid inoffensive race, and are usually kind to such as go among them in a friendly way; but among themselves, they sometimes have war, and fight with the long wooden spear and the knife. Their language, Mr. Clarke says, is very poor; it seemed to him soft and gentle; but he had only heard it from a timid female *Adeeyah* teaching four of her countrywomen the truths concerning God and his Son Jesus Christ. "This," says he, "may seem strange to you, but it was thus;—last sabbath, I attempted to make myself understood, on my return from Krou Town, in a very short conversation with one or two of these poor females. The result was, that five of them, neatly dressed, came to our dwelling on the following day; one of them understood English; and in the simplest way I possibly could, I put words into her mouth to speak to the others, praying God to bless the feeble effort, and to write conviction on each of their hearts."

The captain of a trading vessel at Fernando Po had promised to take our friends across to Bimbia, Cameroons, and Calabar, but was prevented from accomplishing his friendly purpose by the arrival of a letter from his employer in England, expressly forbidding him to afford the missionaries any help whatever. They, however, followed in a little boat going to Cameroons and Bimbia for goats, and had to sleep on the small deck, exposed to the dews by night, and the burning sun by day; but God mercifully preserved their lives. On arriving at Cameroons they were introduced by Capt. Lilly, a resident trader, to the native chief, King Bell, for whom and several other individuals of the same rank, they had been furnished with letters

of recommendation by Lieut.-col. Nicholls. King Bell immediately granted the missionaries his large hall.

Dr. Prince remarks that the favour of divine providence was manifest in this respect, that though obviously in the power of a people and of a chief whose hearts are wholly given to the idolatry of covetousness, and with whom the life of a man is of less value than a printed cotton handkerchief, yet their persons and property were respected in an unwonted degree. King Bell, however, was not insensible to the charms of some hats they had purchased at Cape Coast, nor wanting in cunning in proposing an exchange for trifles.

"The morning," says Dr. Prince, "that we met Agua's people for the first time, we took care to introduce, in our opening addresses to the blacks, a very distinct disavowal of participation in, and interference with trade or traders; declared that we came empty-handed, making no presents, only parting with goods or money in return for services rendered, or the necessaries of life demanded. The simplicity of our design they appeared to comprehend, and satisfaction was evidently expressed in the proceedings. Before several captains, supercargoes, and surgeons, we have had an opportunity of showing our designs in so simple and forcible a light that one general friendly reception has been given us. We have conversed with the various gentlemen interested in the trade, on the sin of desecrating the sabbath by a pursuit of their calling, and have obtained a ready declaration from all, without an exception, that they will at once discontinue and discountenance it. We felt that this sin, perpetrated

and upheld by Englishmen, would be a great barrier to missionary success, and we trust that this reproof and exhortation will be as a prophet's reward to those who have shown a friendly part to us.

"Capt. Wild propitiated Agua by a small present, and in the same way has made a douceur to the Hiccory people. He saw several of his head people in the forenoon, and about 5 P. M., I had the gratification of meeting the most numerous and interesting assemblage we have yet addressed. I wish a draftsman had been present to sketch the scene. The king, habited in a rich scarlet silk around his loins, which formed a striking contrast to his glossy, jet black skin, was seated before his door. On his left was a large group of his chief men, and numerous sons. Those in the front squatted, flanked and supported in the rear by others on their feet. At a little distance on his right were some of his fifty wives, gracefully ornamented with large beads of various colours dispersed round their heads and about their persons. Then, on every eminence, and forming a large circle around me, were parties of anxious expectants of my address,—youths, Zaccheus-like, mounting the trees. We were on a considerable height, looking down upon a majestic stream, that presented upon her bosom many of England's boasted traders. The sun was rapidly declining behind the opposite shore, and ere I concluded, after they had with one accord shouted their welcome to the promised missionary and teacher of their offspring, I turned to the beauteous moon, then rising full in the sight of all, and told them that the God who made that orb for their accommodation by night, had heard their

vow, and would record it. There were no fewer than five hundred in this company, which had been collected by the sound of their country drum in thirty or forty minutes. Many understood English, and these were so desirous of my continuing to speak without interruption, that they would scarcely allow the use of the interpreter, promising to make amends to the less instructed by their own repetition. The christian public who wished us farewell and God speed to this land, would have been startled into admiring gratitude at the instant that this large company rose as one man, and carried by acclamation, that penetrated far through the circumambient air, the proposition to send them a minister to reside amongst or near them. They called it 'good palaver,' said they would protect him who came, thanked us most cordially, declared they would build a house and school, and never desert the white man."

In returning from that district, they visited Bimbia, on the coast, where they had an opportunity of addressing three hundred people, who were very attentive.

The deputation have devoted their attention chiefly to Fernando Po. The situation of the island, in relation to the mouths of the Niger, and other rivers, the intercourse maintained with England, the readiness of the natives to listen to instruction, the facilities it affords for the acquisition of African languages, and the comparative salubrity of its climate, have recommended it as the spot where a station should first be formed.

A tract of land, fifty acres at least, situated close to Clarence, was purchased of one of the aboriginal

inhabitants. A Boubie, called Cut-throat, or Gloriobolobo, disposed of it, and received a bonus beyond his demand; the total cost was under three pounds sterling; the *specie* given in liquidation of Glorio's demand was a musket, two pounds and a half of powder, six pounds of tobacco, and an I O U for an ewe-goat.

On the 27th of April, they proceeded through the woods to Bassipoo, or Bassipou, a Boubie village, where the king gave them a kind welcome. They requested him to call his people in the morning, that they might hear about the great God who made them. This he did; and in the morning they talked to the people at some length, but were badly suited with an interpreter; but being afterwards better supplied with one who was to assist them in the purchase of land, they went with due authority and attendants from the king an hour's walk up the mountain. Having reached a delightful spot from two to three thousand feet above the level of the sea, (for Bassipoo itself stands high, and overlooks Clarence and the sea,) they were told to make their choice. In the town they chose a spot for a school-house, and returned to the king. He sat down by the side of a road, with twelve of his counsellors of state; themselves, the interpreter, and his two Adeeyah attendants, made the company eighteen. All who approached were directed over a fence to pass by at a distance, and the conversation was long and interesting; when they were directed to wait at the house of the king until a farther palaver was held over a dinner prepared for him by one of his head men. When they intimated their desire to

go, the king soon came, and said, all they wished for they should have, and he should make no charge; but that they might give him what they thought proper. On mentioning what Glorio had got for land at Clarence, he said with a similar acknowledgement he would be quite satisfied. "But," added he, "we should like you to build house in town first, then we send our children, and we look upon you and see how you do; for we do not wish to have our children beaten or ill-used in any way; but if you live beside us, we will get acquainted with you, and then none will be afraid to send their children to learn to read book." The natives seemed to have formed a favourable opinion of their white visitors, "for," says Dr. Prince, "they have said of us, 'that we are not like other white man, they like us, we be friend to them, because when we talk to them, they *see our teeth,*' which being construed, means, we look pleasantly and smile upon them. We are now generally known, and our errand also, to the Boubies living within a day's journey of Clarence; the consequences are, they seldom take to flight when we are approaching their towns, and numbers visiting this, come to call on us."

On the 5th of June, Dr. Prince went to Bimbia; on the 6th, he called upon King William, who rejected his message, and refused him accommodation in his house. In consequence, he was compelled to sleep in the small schooner, and the weather being rainy, and the coast unhealthy, he became ill. Before his sickness, he tried another town, and was listened to by about three hundred people. Providentially, the vessel sailed the day after his sickness commenced. She was

to have remained a full month, but there being no trade in palm oil, it was deemed useless by the captain and supercargo to remain longer in the place. His case was of a more serious description than it had been in any previous attack; but the agreeable change from a confined vessel and indifferent attendance, to a comfortable bed, with judicious medical treatment and tender sympathy, were blessed by God to his perfect restoration.

The efforts of the deputation seemed by this time to be crowned with some success; and they entertained a good hope that several had been changed in heart. More than sixty attended the sabbath-school, some of whom were able to read the word of God. Among those who were making steady progress was a man from Cameroons, who frequently came half an hour before a prayer-meeting or lecture, and stayed long after for conversation. From him Mr. Clarke obtained most of his Cameroon vocabulary, and his attendance upon the preaching of the word was encouraging. Dr. Prince began to teach him with some others; but this man made the greatest progress. On his way to Krou Town, Mr. Clarke passed a house where several Cameroons were dancing and making a great noise. As soon as they saw him the dancing ceased; and the chief man came out to apologise for their conduct. He was told that he was doing very wrong, that he knew it was God's day, and that such things ought not to be done. There was no more dancing in that house for the day. At Krou Town the people were very indifferent, but twenty-five persons assembled to listen to the word of life.

In July, they state that thirty-two persons from

different nations had joined the Wednesday evening classes. The sabbath and week-night meetings were well attended. Twenty-four couples had been united in marriage; five couples more had the banns proclaimed; and several more were preparing for a similar union. All these were before living irregularly. Night brawls and drummings had ceased, except an occasional noise at Krou Town, or among the Dewallas from Cameroons. They speak of the change produced in Clarence as great, and the number of those disposed to forsake their old, long-tried, and miserable course of open sin as gradually increasing. Some, indeed, fell back into their former course of quarrelling, fornication, and drunkenness; but many stood firm in the strength of God, and among those who had fallen, a few were restored to repentance; none had entirely gone away. Most of those who became united in matrimonial bonds afterwards gave their names as catechumens, and attended diligently on public and private instruction.

In a letter to the author, dated July 13th, Mr. Clarke furnishes specimens of African languages which have come under his notice, referring also to the districts in which they are spoken. As suitable illustrations of the similarity of some, and the great dissimilarity of others, and of the labour which will be necessary to be performed by translators before Africa can be enabled to read the scriptures of truth, he gives the words, "fire" and "water," as being common in all lands, in ninety-seven different languages. He adds, "We are now in the midst of the rainy season, and are much shut up in consequence of it. We cannot venture into the bush to visit the native villages; but by November the rains

will cease, and if spared until then, and no opportunity presents for entering the interior of Africa, we mean to employ much time in visiting every part of this interesting island."

In another letter to the author from Dr. Prince, dated the 29th of August, occurs the following interesting narrative:—"We are accustomed to meet our classes on the evenings of Wednesday, at half-past seven, and as our house can hardly accommodate the two at the same time, the numbers being twenty-four and twenty-three, I repair to the house of John William Christian, and there meet him and the remaining twenty-two. Last Wednesday, the 25th, I was about to quit at the termination of the meeting, when he requested me to be seated, as he had something to say for himself and fellow-members. He began by saying how greatly they all rejoiced in the coming of the missionaries, and as we had read to them from the magazines, &c., lately received, accounts of what their countrymen and fellow-christians were doing for their good in Africa, they also desired and considered it their duty to do something for the mission to help to support us, and to erect a place of worship. Thereupon he handed me a list of names with sums annexed, of parties belonging to my class, who had engaged to contribute quarterly the amount specified; and he and the members, after our prayer-meeting last night, (Saturday,) paid over three guineas sterling, and unanimously expressed the satisfaction they experienced by so doing; indeed their countenances told that fact; any one looking on, but not hearing their remarks, would have conjectured that they were the receivers,

rather than the payers, unless as I conceive, with a tutored eye, the observer would detect an expression of superior delight to that which a receiver of coveted gold betrays, for this was the joy of those who were more blessed in giving than they could be by receiving. * * * What pleased me the more is that their act has anticipated the purpose which brother Clarke and I had formed a few days previously of calling their attention to the performance of the duty; and that very night, at one time of the meeting, it occurred to me to do this, but I was secretly overruled for the better manifestation of His grace by whom the hearts of this people are affected."

In a second letter two days afterwards, he furnishes an account of a visit of Christian to two of the Boubie towns on the eastern side. When Christian went away, diffidence concealed his principal motive for going, and he spoke of it as a trading excursion. On the 28th of August, he left Clarence in a canoe, accompanied by three boys, and arrived at Bani (a Boubie town) about six P. M.; there met negroes from Clarence, and summoned them to prayer. About six the following morning, he departed for Bassakatwo, and arrived in four hours; assembled his boys and some Clarence people to prayer: three Boubies also joined the company. At mid-day, he walked three miles along the coast to see the chief, and unexpectedly met three Krous, who, he says, resort to the woods, become freebooters upon the Boubies, and commit all manner of licentiousness and depredation. The king, Wiar-rirupwe, came, inquired if Christian wanted to trade; being answered in the negative, and told of the disin-

terested errand on which his visitor had come, he could not apprehend that motive, was very suspicious, and rather fearful of Christian as a Juju-man who harboured some sinister intention that would be injurious to him; but at last he was induced to give him credit, as Christian continued to decline all trade, assuring him that he came purposely to apprise him of *two white God-men* having come to Clarence, all the way from their own country, just to teach the Boubies *God palaver*, and their children *white man's book*. He therefore had to propose to the king, that he should order a house to be prepared for the missionaries, because they are not used to sun and rain. The proposition was instantly acquiesced in, and the option of a spot granted. Christian selected one which happened to comprise a portion upon which some sacred grass was growing. The king demurred a little to the surrender of this, but relinquished it with good will when assured that there was no god there, and that the white men would tell him better. After listening to a pious exhortation and a prayer offered by Christian, the king went away much pleased, promising to return the next day to construct the hut. He was as good as his word, and made an early appearance with a large concourse of his people, who began to clear away the herbage, Christian setting the example upon the sacred grass. When the chosen spot had been cleared, Christian again addressed the crowd and prayed. All behaved well, and were unanimous in a declaration of their purpose to follow the example and counsel of their chief, whenever he might sanction the removal of their children to Clarence for book

instruction, or adopt any reformation in their own locality. On Sunday the king returned with many of his 'gentlemen,' and other subjects, bearing presents of fowls, which Christian would not receive on that day, and explained his reasons; they were afterwards offered and accepted. There was one miserably diseased man full of sores, the features of his face destroyed; his own people kept aloof from him, and he was an outcast amongst his brethren. Christian took especial notice of this man,—gave him tobacco, invited him to sit near to him, drank of some palm wine from the same gourd, an act which not one of his countrymen would do. The man felt this kindness very sensibly, and brought, as a token of gratitude, one egg, alleging that he had nothing better to present. He was told that nothing was required, but that the egg would be received with pleasure, and that Christian regarded him as his friend. This manifestation of good principle excited great astonishment in the chief and his company, and they reasoned—"what sort of man is this, he does not come here for any thing, and lets that sick man come near him, and drinks topee with him!

"At Bakaka, Christian met a native who had dwelt some time at Clarence; he exhorted her to communicate to her townspeople what she had seen and heard, as calculated to make them desire the like advantages. Not fewer than five hundred assembled to hear him, taking their seats upon a rising slope. When Christian took leave, the posts of the hut to be prepared for a missionary were planted, and the material for completing it was upon the spot. Bowie, the chief, said that if Christian would return, he would

afterwards send one of his own sons to learn book, but he was disposed to be incredulous of the promised return, and explained his doubts by the repeated want of good faith in those who have before visited to trade; who get their oil, yams, &c., upon trust, and afterwards falsify their assurances to return and pay. Christian came away without taking any part of the debt due to him by the chief, and departed with many tokens of good-will." * * *

"It is now our pleasing duty," says Dr. Prince, "to inform you that the forementioned worthy candidate, together with Phœbe Christian (*i. e.* Christian's wife), Joseph Wilson, Peter Nicolls, and Mary Ann Duroo, were baptized yesterday morning, and so initiated into the visible church, and that we afterwards had the spiritual feast in commemoration of our Redeemer's sacrifice for our sins,—the first occasion to brother Clarke and me since we had that fellowship with you. One accepted female was too ill to be baptized. The scene was beautiful to the tastes both of the renewed and unrenewed nature. Our tent gave accommodation to brother Clarke, and others were appointed for the men and women. The day had been anticipated with great interest by all our hearers. A great many of them passed the night in the tent, singing and praying; others did the like in their own houses. Many more than the number baptized applied, but we acted very scrupulously in our examinations."

Mr. Clarke and Dr. Prince left Fernando Po in the beginning of February, with the hope of arriving in London in time for the annual meetings of the Society in May, to give an account of their mission; but they

were called to pass through unexpected and painful vicissitudes, which will doubtless be found, in the end, to have been providentially overruled for important purposes. A communication from Mr. Clarke on the subject, though long, demands insertion, on account of its many valuable details:—

"After spending fourteen months in Africa, and finding a sufficient number of places for forming missionary stations, and seeing no prospect of effecting a passage up any of the rivers into the interior, further than we had already done, Dr. Prince and I thought we could best hasten the speedy introduction of the gospel into many benighted lands of sin and wretchedness, by repairing to England, to lay before the committee and the churches, the result of the deputation on which we have been sent; and plead for Africa, to the utmost extent of the power imparted to us by our God. I confess I could not have left Africa without deep regret, if I had not first devoted my life to her welfare,—if I had not resolved to return to her (D. V.), with all proper speed, to labour and suffer for her sons, while my days of labour and of suffering are permitted to continue. But the term suffering may be changed for that of pleasure, and labour for that of delight, when I labour in the work of God, and suffer in the cause of my Redeemer; for I have enjoyed, and still hope to enjoy, true delight in God, when cold, and drenched with the pouring rain; when fatigued, and far distant from the poorest shelter; as well as when threatened by the raging sea, or by the unfeeling menace of an offended savage. I left Africa, fully hoping to aid her much by reaching England for

the annual meeting, by having the summer to represent her state to the churches; and then to hasten back, with my devoted wife and a reinforcement of pious souls, to reveal Jesus and his great salvation to thousands sunk in ignorance, idolatry, and woe. We sailed in the *Mary*, of Liverpool, on the third of February, and on the 11th, were struck by lightning, to the east of the Island of Princes. A Krouman was struck dead in the cabin, while waiting upon us at our breakfast table; most of our ship's company felt the shock severely; and our mizen-top-mast was split in two, and the mizen greatly shattered. The poor Krou was buried in the mighty deep, our shattered sails were repaired, and we slowly proceeded on our way. On the 21st of March, a piratical-looking vessel, with the Sardinian flag, ran across our stern, and all expected a sudden attack; all hands were placed so as to attempt, if she fired upon us, to run her down. She, however, got our longitude, and passed quietly on. It was the look of the craft, the number of her hands, and a sail thrown over what seemed to us a great gun upon the stern, that led us to suspect danger. On the 25th of March, between eleven and twelve o'clock P. M., our mainmast came by the board, bringing with it the fore-top, and mizen-top-mast, and yards, so that we lay a complete wreck for two days, about two thousand miles from the nearest land. On the 29th, we saw two vessels, and sent letters by both, to inform our friends of our disasters. On the 5th of April, our cook, an American black, died suddenly, and a second time we had to commit a fellow-creature to the deep. On the 8th, a Spanish vessel came up to us, and manifested a

more threatening appearance than did our former friend, the Sardinian. She wished us to heave to; and when we paid no regard to the mandate, she lay for some time without making sail, as if meditating an attack upon us in our helpless state. She was the perfect model of a good sea-boat; and the crew with their dark beards and mustachios, gave us no bad idea of a band of daring pirates. We were, however, near the land, and sailing before the wind, with a good breeze; and in a quarter of an hour or so, the Spaniard again made sail, and proceeded on her course towards Cuba. On the 9th, we saw land on the coast of Guiana, and anchored for the night off Berbice. On the 10th, we ran along to Demerara lightship; and on the 11th, landed safely at George Town, where we soon found friends who did all in their power to render our stay profitable and agreeable. The London missionaries, and Mr. Ketley, an independent minister, vied with each other in kind attentions to us. We were encouraged to make a collection for the African branch of the baptist mission in Smith's chapel, and also in Mr. Ketley's; and Mr. Rattray, another of the London Society's missionaries, was so affected for Africa, that he, of his own accord, made a collection for our Society, after we had left his delightful station at 'Pleasure and Rest.' The collections and subscriptions in all, at three places, amounted to £31. 14*s*. 2*d*.; and to this, above two hundred of Mr. Ketley's dear sabbath school children gave their 'bits,' to send, as they said, teachers to the poor children in Africa. Fifteen dollars were thus raised in bits and half-bits from the scholars (a bit is fourpence sterling); forty dollars were raised at the

public week-night meeting; twenty dollars on the sabbath; and ten more at a morning prayer-meeting, on the morning previous to that of our departure—£17. 14*s*. 2*d*. from his dear people and children, in all.

"I had there a most delightful afternoon, on the sabbath afternoon, with native Africans. I first ranged the Foulahs and Mandingoes before me, and told them that God had sent missionaries to some parts of their land, that good men had learned the Mandingo tongue, and that the word of God was printed in their own language, and some of their countrymen were being taught to read of the Saviour of lost sinners; I showed them the great work yet to be done, and pressed upon them their duty to pray and assist in the glorious service. I went to the Bulloms, the Sherbros, Susoos, and Mendis, telling them what was doing in their land; then to the Bassas, Krous, Grebos, Plaboes, and natives of the Grain Coast. I found none from the Ivory Coast, but some from Lahon, Ashanti, Koromanti, Jantee, and Equo; and to these I spoke of the labours at Cape Coast Castle, Anamaboe, Accra, and Coomassee. I was going on to Poppoe, Eboe, Aku, and Houssa; but time would not allow me to proceed. It was a joyous season, and the smoking flax of love to Africa was blown up into a flame. * * * I was deeply interested in seeing several of the Arawaak Indians, and glad to find they are not altogether overlooked by missionaries. Little, however, has been done, comparatively, for them; and their numbers are said to be rapidly growing less. The number of those who compose the Carabisce, Accaway, Arawaak, Warrow, Macusi, Paramuni, Atharaya, and Attamaka nations, is

given at from 15,000 to 20,000. These inhabit the interior, from the river Rippanoony in Brazil, to the Oronoque, and move from one place to another in Surinam, Cayenne, Guiana, and the borders of Colombia and Brazil; but about 5000 of these were formerly attached to the British, and were employed, in the dark days of bondage, to hunt and bring in fugitive slaves. These were chiefly of the Arawaak nation; and are now, since slavery has ceased, very little regarded by their former interested friends. * * *

"The Arawaak Indians call the Supreme Being, Aluheri, and the god of their nation, Kururumauny; to whom they give two wives—Woorecaddo (a worker in darkness), and Emehsewaddo (the large red ant). The Caribisce have a tradition that they came from the islands. They call God, Maconaima, meaning a worker in the dark; and their legend of the creation is, that coeval with Maconaima was a large tree, which he mounted, and cut from it chips of wood with a stone hatchet, and throwing these into a river, they became animate beings, according to the will of Maconaima. Among this interesting people Mr. Ketley has several stations, near to the river Essequibo; one is at Supenaam, another at Caria Caria, and a third at Tiger Creek. The church missionaries have also a station at Bartica Point, where the Cayoony and Masaroony rivers enter the noble Essequibo." *

After a residence of eighteen days in the town of Charlotte Amalie, they left the picturesque harbour of

* Letter to the author, dated "On board the brig *Colonist*, off St. Croix, May 3, 1842."

St. Thomas, and on the 27th of May arrived at Falmouth, where they were affectionately welcomed; and immediately occupied themselves in public addresses and pleadings from day to day for Africa. "I pray," says Mr. Clarke, "for a devoted heart, and feel—in the midst of the warmest gratulations, the lovely scenery, the comfortable homes, the good roads, and the easy modes of travelling in Jamaica—a burning desire to climb on foot the rugged mountains of Formosa; to rest in the lowly huts of the Fernandians; to look upon the tall surrounding reeds, and the waving palm trees; and see the simple natives repairing to the 'bala' *(play-ground)*, hear from their lips the friendly 'oìpodì' *(good morning)*, and behold them listening with wonder and surprise to the strange 'boìrupè' *(men of God)*, who have visited their 'bissì' *(town)*, to speak of 'Alahandu' *(the great God)*, who is the true 'Dupe' *(God)*, whose 'intshobo' *(dwelling)* is 'obòò' *(up above us)*."

It was soon resolved that the churches in Jamaica should supply means to enable them to procure a sloop with proper boats, to go to the mouths of the rivers, and ascend the streams to the numerous towns on their banks.

During the ensuing months they have been constantly travelling to visit the principal stations. In his most recent communication to the secretary Mr. Clarke writes:—"I have not been able to describe the scene in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, on my going there. The poor people are, notwithstanding their love to me and the family of the Merricks, willing to give us all up; and many of them are themselves willing to accompany

us to Africa. They say, 'You shall cost the Society nothing while here, and we must pay your passage to England.' 'We have from £300 to £400 collected for the offering at the Jubilee; and hope it will be £600 sterling before we have all done with bringing in our offerings.' But I cannot hear of the leaving of the Merricks until a supply for these churches is obtained. They require three ministers; and Jericho alone can now support three; but until mission-houses are built, the others cannot support each its own. Jericho people will cheerfully help the other stations, if a right-minded man be sent to Jericho. If not, all my fine peaceful stations will be thrown back, and a separation will arise where none has before existed. The people at Jericho were first helped by the committee; now they cheerfully help Smyrna and Springfield; and in this way all the four churches will soon be provided with mission premises, and ministers at each of these stations; but I fear to think of giving up Jericho to a stranger, and think I must reach home to choose a suitable person to suceeed the Merricks, before they are called upon to proceed to the African field. The whole family are willing to go. Let the whole family go. They will be, I trust, the most valuable family that ever went to Africa to seek its good."

Our beloved friends and christian adventurers are expected in England before the time appointed for the celebration of the Jubilee in London at the beginning of October; and ten thousand beating hearts are awaiting their return, while the prayers of the church are ascending to Him, that the winds and the waves,

held in the hollow of his hand, may be commissioned to waft them in safety.

In the mean time, Mr. Sturgeon having been sent by the committee to occupy the station at Fernando Po in the absence of Dr. Prince and Mr. Clarke, having reached that spot in the spring, sent, under date of April the 19th, a letter to the secretary from Clarence, in which he says that "the number of inquirers is now about one hundred. On Lord's day, the 3rd instant, I baptized three persons in Water Fall brook. The humility, piety, and prayerfulness of these three persons now united to the small church at Clarence, compel me to conclude that they are 'trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he may be glorified.' There is such a general inquiry here for salvation, such a thirst for the word of life, such a spirit of prayer, and desire for the means of grace, as seems to portend a speedy outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The song of the drunkard is changed for the songs of Zion; strife, revelling, and profligacy are superseded by peace and love. One of the persons I have baptized was a ringleader of drunkenness, dancing, and public sports, previous to the arrival of Mr. Clarke and Dr. Prince; now he is at least a comparative pattern of holiness and activity. One of the most pleasing evidences of the prosperity of our cause is the increased efforts of the people to bring sinners to the Saviour. Our friends are going in all directions, reading, talking, and praying with the people."

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND.

The labours and anxieties of the committee at home have been by no means insignificant, during the past few years of stirring incident and increasing exertion in the different departments of the missionary field abroad. Theirs it has ever been to live in a continual state of excitement and effort — to bear the burdens, or participate the joys of all—to counsel their agents in perplexity, and defend them under reproach —to inform and correct the misguided in seasons of mistake and misunderstanding—to uphold the desponding in weakness and embarrassment—and to supply each applicant and station with men and money. And while a general superintendence and sympathy have devolved on them in a sense the care of all the missionary churches, they have been employed in incessant and often difficult deliberations, and in laborious journeys to obtain resources for the work.

For several years it was the growing conviction that Mr. Dyer, the secretary, needed more help, and that, if possible, it should be efficiently provided, not so much by an increase of subordinate machinery, as by the union of another individual with him in the secretarial department, by which the whole system of management might fall, substantially, into the two

most natural divisions of domestic and foreign. Long habituated to labour alone as the chief officer of the Society, he was somewhat averse, at first, to such a measure; by no means aware, probably, of the necessary inadequacy of an individual to fulfil the ever-increasing demands of the Society. At length, however, he concurred in the appointment of a co-secretary; and after a brief experience, expressed his personal satisfaction in his colleague, the Rev. Joseph Angus, A. M., who was, at the time of his election, pastor of the church in New Park Street, Borough. This very desirable provision was announced at the annual meeting at Exeter Hall on the 30th of April, 1840.

Mr. Knibb arrived at Liverpool on the 10th of May, and after holding the public meeting at Exeter Hall, where he delivered a speech of great interest, from which some extracts have been before given, he commenced a plan of extensive travelling for the mission. In the course of six months he attended 154 public services, travelled about 6000 miles, and addressed, on a probable computation, 200,000 individuals. Having succeeded in obtaining pecuniary aid for commencing the African mission, and for adding ten new labourers to the missionary band in Jamaica, his closing efforts were directed towards the removal of the debt of upwards of £3000 owing by the Society, which were vigorously seconded by the liberalities of individuals and of the churches. For this object he engaged to raise £500 among the churches of Jamaica. Previously to his departure he attended a succession of public meetings at different chapels in London and its neighbourhood, which were closed by a valedictory service at Finsbury

Chapel, when that spacious building was crowded in every part by the friends of the mission. On this occasion solemn prayer was offered by Mr. Pritchard and Mr. Aldis; the audience was briefly addressed by the missionary brethren Woolley, May, and Cornford, as well as by Mr. Knibb; and the whole was closed by a farewell address, in the name of the committee, by the author of this work. A collection was made, which amounted to £127. 1*s*. 3*d*.

Of those who accompanied Mr. Knibb, there were three missionaries, and two schoolmasters, with their wives, and five female teachers, who went to reside at different missionary stations, in connexion with the missionary families there. This new branch of agency includes a normal school for the training of native female teachers, under the personal management of Mr. Knibb, and not included in the accounts of the Society.

Of the three missionaries, Mr. Edward Woolley was educated at Stepney college; Mr. John May had for some time been pastor of the church at Saltash in Cornwall; and Mr. P. H. Cornford had studied at the Newport Pagnel Evangelical Institution, under the direction of the Rev. T. Bull. Mr. Charles Armstrong and Mr. Henry Bloomfield, having been trained with that view, went out as missionary schoolmasters; the former to be in connexion with Mr. Clark, of Brown's Town; the latter to take charge of one of the schools under the direction of Mr. Knibb.

Mr. William Hume and Mrs. Hume embarked on board the *Maraboo*, for Kingston, on the 9th of November, to join Mr. Phillippo at Spanish Town, and

co-operate with him, by superintending one of the schools under his direction.

On the 22nd of July, 1841, a dark cloud overshadowed the Society in the sudden and calamitous death of Mr. Dyer, the senior secretary. The details of this mournful event it were needless to perpetuate by repetition here. Suffice it to say, that after having for a fortnight given unequivocal symptoms of mental aberration, he left his room in the night, and was found in a small cistern of water in the morning, cold and lifeless. Mr. Steane, in a funeral discourse, after referring to the calvinism of his theological sentiments, the harmony of his intellectual powers, his remarkably methodical and business-like habits, and the intimacy of his acquaintance with the Scriptures, very accurately observes, "But the qualities which distinguished him above all others were those of a moral and spiritual kind. To his superiority as a christian, his superiority in almost every other respect in which he excelled must be attributed. Others might surpass him in originality of thought, in profoundness of conception, in compass of mind, who would never have reached the excellence and dignity of character to which he attained. And to what shall this be attributed, but to the grace of God which shone so conspicuously in him, to the strength and light which he derived from his perpetual and child-like access to the fountain of purity and wisdom? He was a man addicted to habits of devotion. With David he might have said, 'I give myself unto prayer.' * * * In his anxiety to discountenance sin, he would unnecessarily frown on the innocent gaieties of youth, and

administer reproof in a tone of severity disproportioned to the fault. A sedateness and solemnity of manner sometimes characterised his conversation, which probably has kept at a distance from him some who might otherwise have profited by his discourse; though when the subjects nearest his heart were touched upon, or any scheme of benevolence was presented to his mind, he could speak with great fluency, pertinence, and effect. Naturally of a sensitive disposition, his feelings were nevertheless so much under the command of his judgment, that it was an unusual thing to see him offended; and though sometimes a hasty remark might possibly escape him, he never designedly expressed himself in a manner to give offence. A man of peace, he shunned contention, and was singularly free from a captious, wrangling, and censorious spirit. From constitutional temperament rather disposed to pensiveness than hilarity, his mind was apt to impart a sombre hue to surrounding objects. Occurrences which others regarded with no dismay and little apprehension, would depress his spirit with forebodings of evil. Of ardent benevolence, and at times taking large views of the prospects and omnipotent capabilities of truth, his heart would yet misgive him when undertakings were proposed of more than ordinary extent or boldness. Such was his sacred regard for truth, that he never indulged in exaggeration, or even in loose statement; while ambiguity of speech was avoided, and deceit was abhorrent to his mind. His self-knowledge made him candid in forming, and his self-control guarded in expressing his judgment of others; but it was a part of the unbending integrity of his mind never to manifest

complacency in an individual whom he did not sincerely respect. His affections were deep and faithful."

The author may be permitted to subjoin a remark or two of his own, delivered at the time of the interment, at the chapel in Little Wild Street:—"The temporary aberration of reason is not its extinction, nor is it the extinction of principle and piety; and the form in which affliction and death shall overtake the good man is in the hand of God. The mode of his departure from the present state cannot affect the great question of his destiny; for that depends not on the outward modification of circumstances, but on the decision of the mind, preparation of character, the working and moulding of great principles. The safety and blessedness of the soul of a believer rests on the foundation which God has laid in Zion. The question is not whether he leaves the world in a calm or in a tempest,—in the clear sunshine of circumstance, or amidst clouds and mysteries,—on the quiet bed, by the stroke of accident, or in the whirlwind of delusion; the temporary must be separated from the permanent, the unreal dreams of a moment from the realities of truth, the essentials of character, and the power of grace. The question which belongs to the everlasting condition of a man respects his faith in Christ, his love to God, his conformity to truth. 'Is it well?' asks the anxious survivor. And if the report can be—he was a penitent, a believer, a servant of God—the answer is, in defiance of death's worst terrors, Satan's worst temptations, and life's worst forms of mischief—'It is well.' From the depths of hades, the distant regions of an invisible world, the soft and solacing echo is, 'It is well.' * *

"As secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, Mr. Dyer was indeed an official man, but any thing but the *mere* official. He worthily succeeded the distinguished individuals that went before; and with business habits far greater, he had a love of missionary labour, and a love of perishing heathen, not less than theirs. His name is thus associated in the annals of the church with Fuller, Ryland, and Hinton, and will be had in everlasting remembrance. Prompt, indefatigable, persevering, he was, in a sense, a martyr to the cause. It was his life. It was the great self-denying purpose of his existence, the element of his thought, and the spring of his activity. In counsel, he was discriminating; in judgment, sound; in point of information, always correct and copious. He had much of the vivid and intuitive perception of the bearings of a question, and his opinion was always valuable, and often adopted. In pleading for the mission, he was ready with information, fluent, copious, occasionally impassioned, and never failed to leave an impression of the integrity of his mind, and the warmth of his benevolent heart. * * *

"Here, then, we leave the ashes, or shall we say, the wreck of the mortal frame! It is, indeed, a wreck; but see how the vessel stranded, and with what result! It is as if a tempest-tossed ship on the ocean should have lost her reckoning, and struck in the dark night upon the shore; but behold, when the morning comes, it appears the shore is the very land, and the place the very port to which she sailed; the vessel wrecked, but the life within untouched, and amidst ten thousand welcomings, all safe, and well, and happy, for ever!

"Surviving friendship is often consoled by the details of a dying testimony; but we have more—a living one! The christian church at large, the missionary band in particular, in near and distant lands, will feel that a brother and a friend is gone. His life is his monument, and it will outlast the sculptured stone!"

One of the first objects of the committee, after passing a resolution commemorative of the virtues and abilities of their departed associate, was to enter upon the question of a suitable successor to the vacant office. This was attended with more difficulty than was imagined; and although repeated meetings have been since held, not only of the central, but of the general committee, and some applications have been made to individuals thought to possess the requisite qualifications, no successor has at present been appointed. Temporary assistance, however, has been obtained in the out-door work at home, as it may be termed; and increased financial and other aid is afforded in the office of the Society.

The fiftieth year from the formation of the Society having arrived, measures were adopted, which are still in progress, to stamp it with the character of a denominational Jubilee celebration. The object has been to make it, not only productive in pecuniary contributions, but instrumental in promoting a spirit of prayer, as well as a spirit of thankfulness. With these views, a jubilee sub-committee was formed,* whose labours commenced in making arrangements to

* Consisting of Drs. Cox and Murch, Messrs. Steane, Hinton Russell, Gurney, and Angus.

hold a general meeting of the Society at KETTERING, a town pre-eminently distinguished as the birth place of the mission, and the residence of Andrew Fuller.

This great assembly met on the 31st of May and the 1st and 2nd of June, 1842. The pencil that could adequately depict the scene must be dipped in the brightest colours of description; but a faint sketch may suffice. From every quarter multitudes poured in, to blend their sympathies with the joys of Zion; the roads, the fields, the streets, were full of life; gladness, holy gladness, beamed from every eye; for who could be indifferent while gathering to a spot consecrated by the past meetings and doings of men who originated a scheme that holds so eminent a place in the annals of christianity, and has given so powerful an impulse to the energies of the church?

A spacious lawn attached to the house where the Society had its origin, was tastefully prepared for the occasion; being entirely covered with an awning of such dimensions as to enclose the flowers, shrubs, and trees, which adorned the scene with their beauty, and filled the ample space with their fragrance. In a little back parlour in the house itself, was seen the place where Fuller and his associates met to arrange the plan of the mission, and there was the very table around which they sat to deliberate and determine upon an enterprise they began so tremblingly, and the results of which their successors had now assembled, after the labours and vicissitudes of fifty years, to celebrate so rejoicingly.

The first service was conducted in the baptist meeting-house, when on the Tuesday evening, May the

31st, Mr. Godwin, of Oxford, preached from the words, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad (Psalm cxxvi. 3). Another discourse was delivered at the same time by Mr. Leslie, from Monghyr, from Acts xiv. 27. On Wednesday morning, an early prayer-meeting was held, when Mr. Stovel gave an address. At the appointed time, in the tent, Mr. Steane preached from the words, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength" (Isaiah xl. 31); and at the same time, Mr. Brock, of Norwich, at the independent place of worship, from 1 Cor. iii. 21—23. As the day advanced, the interest seemed to deepen, and the multitude to increase, up to the very moment of the public meeting in the evening, when every avenue leading to the tent was crowded. It was calculated that five or six thousand persons were present. The treasurer occupied the chair, and near him sat the Rev. Reynold Hogg, bending beneath the weight of ninety years, the last relic of the noble band of originators of the Society. The speakers were Dr. Cox, Messrs. Tritton, Fuller, Mursell, Tinson, Brock, Knibb, Russell, and Angus. The overflowings of the meeting were accommodated in the several places of worship, where addresses were delivered by Messrs. Knibb, Hinton, Eustace Carey, Dr. Hoby, and others.

On the ensuing morning, there was a public breakfast at the British school rooms, to which the addition of the yard was necessary, where several tables were spread in the open air. Thence an adjournment took place to the tent, where T. Gotch, Esq., took the chair, several speeches in harmony with the object were made,

and prayer offered. At the conclusion of this meeting, most of the assembly departed to their respective homes, carrying with them impressions of the noblest order, and imperishable as existence itself.

The *second of October* will occur on the sabbath, when it has been recommended to every church in the kingdom to make a collection, and cherish a special remembrance of the mission. May the Holy Spirit on that day send down showers of blessing upon the churches, and on all the missionary field!

*** At the moment when this sheet was finishing at press, the Jamaica packet arrived with the brethren Clarke, Prince, and Joseph Merrick, on their way to Africa. After attending some jubilee meetings, they will re-embark to meet their fellows of kindred soul and purpose about to proceed from Jamaica to Fernando Po. We joyfully welcome, but—the cause of Christ demanding it—we shall willingly dismiss them again to the field of their labour, though never from our affections and prayers!

O Africa, the morning beam is on thy dark shores; thy rivers shall be bordered with the tree of life, and thy deserts bloom with the rose of Sharon! "ARISE, SHINE, FOR THY LIGHT IS COME, AND THE GLORY OF THE LORD IS RISEN UPON THEE!"

APPENDIX.

SCRIPTURES PRINTED BY THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES, FROM 1801 TO 1841.

VERSIONS.	BIBLES.	TESTS.	TOTAL.
1 Affghan	..	1000	1000
Pentateuch	1000		1000
Historical Books ..	1000	..	1000
2 Armenian (modern) ..	..	600	600
Matthew	..	100	100
3 Assamese	..	1000	1000
Pentateuch	1000	..	1000
Historical Books ·	1000	..	1000
Hagiographa	1000	..	1000
Prophets	1000	..	.. 1000
Luke	..	1500	.. 1500
4 Battak..............	..		not known
5 Belochi, 3 Gospels			not known
6 Bengali,—			
Old Version	3000	16,000	19,000
Pentateuch	10,000	..	10,000
Historical Books ..	1500	..	1500
Prophetical Books .	1000	..	1000
Job to Solom. Song	900	..	900
Psalms	3900	..	3900
Luke, Acts, & Rom.	..	10,000	10,000
Matthew and Mark	..	1000	1000
Matthew	..	10,000	10,000
Mark............	..	10,000	10,000
Matthew & Prophets		500	500
New Version	..	5800	5800
Genesis and Exodus	2500	..	2500
Pentateuch	1000		1000
Psalms	5000		5000
Proverbs	5000	..	5000
4 Gospels, in all ..	..	96,000	96,000
Gospel and Acts ..		7500	7500
Acts		2000	2000
7 Bhogulcundi		1000	1000
8 Bhikaneera..........		1000	1000
9 Bhutneera		1000	1000
10 Bruj................		3000	3000
4 Gospels		3000	3000
11 Burmese		5000	5000
Matthew		5500	5500
John		2000	2000

VERSIONS.	BIBLES.	TESTS.	TOTAL.
Acts	..	3000	3000
Hebrews	..	3000	3000
Epistles of St. John	..	3000	3000
12 Chinese	6400	3000	9400
Genesis and Exodus	3100	..	3100
Four Gospels	..	3000	3000
13 Cingalese, about......	5000	5000	10,000
14 Gujurathi	..	1000	1000
15 Gurwhali or Shreenagur	..	1000	1000
16 Haroti	..	1000	1000
17 Hindui,—			
Old Versions.........	..	4000	4000
Pentateuch	1000	..	1000
Historical Books ..	1000	..	1000
Hagiographa......	1000	..	1000
Psalms	3000	..	3000
Prophetical Books .	1000	..	1000
Four Gospels	..	10,000	10,000
Matthew	..	4000	4000
Mark	..	4000	4000
Luke	..	4000	4000
John	..	4000	4000
Acts to Corinthians	..	3000	3000
New Versions,—			
Matthew		6000	6000
18 Hindustani, or Urdu,—			
Old Version		1000	.. 1000
New Version		4500	.. 4500
Gospels		20,000	.. 20,000
Gospels and Acts ..		10,500	.. 10,500
Acts		4000	.. 4000
19 Javanese, about		3000	.. 3000
20 Jumbu		1000	.. 1000
21 Juyapura, Matthew ..		..	not known
22 Kanoj	..	1000	1000
23 Kashmere	..	1000	1000
Pentateuch	1000		1000
Historical Books ..	1000	..	1000
24 Khassi		500	500
25 Kumaon to Colossians .	..	1000	1000
26 Kunkunu	..	1000	1000
Pentateuch	1000	..	.. 1000
27 Kusoli, Matthew	..	..	not known
28 Kurnata	..	1000	1000
29 Mahratta............	..	1000	1000
Pentateuch	1000	..	1000
Historical Books ..	1000	..	1000
Hagiographa......	1000	..	1000
Prophetical Books .	1000	..	1000
Matthew	..	465	465

VERSIONS.	BIBLES.	TESTS.	TOTAL.
Four Gospels		3000	3000
Acts to Revelations		3000	3000
30 Malay, Arabic		1000	1000
Ditto, Roman		500	500
31 Marwari		1000	1000
32 Mugudh		1000	1000
33 Multnani............		1000	1000
34 Munipura		1000	1000
35 Nepaulese		1000	.. 1000
36 Ooduypura		..	not known
37 Oojein..............		1000	1000
38 Oriya	..	5000	5000
Pentateuch	3000		3000
Historical Books ..	1000		1000
Hagiographa	1000		1000
Prophetical Books .	1000	..	1000
Matthew		3000	3000
39 Palpa		1000	1000
40 Persian,—			
Old Ver. four Gospels		500	500
New Version		1000	1000
Four Gospels		12,000	12,000
Acts		3000	3000
Gospels and Acts..		1000	1000
41 Sanskrit,—			
Old Version	..	600	600
Pentateuch	600	..	600
Historical Books ..	1000		.. 1000
Ditto to 1 Kings ..	2000		.. 2000
Hagiographa	1000		1000
Prophetical Books .	1000	..	1000
New Version	..	1000	1000
Psalms	2500	..	2500
Matthew		2500	2500
Gospel and Acts ..		500	500
42 Sikhi	..	1000	1000
Pentateuch	1000		1000
Historical Books ..	1000		1000
Hagiographa......	1000		1000
Prophetical Books .	1000		1000
43 Sindhi,—			
Matthew			not known
44 Telinga, or Teloogoo—			
Pentateuch	1000		1000

Total number of volumes printed up to 1826...... 195,565
Ditto from 1827 to 1838 44,500
Ditto from 1838 to April, 1841 194,400

Total during the forty years ending April, 1841 434,465

I.—STATISTICS OF THE CHURCHES CONNECTED WITH THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1841—2.

	No. of Stations	No. of Missionaries.	No. of Female Missionaries.	No. of Native Preachers.	Members added in the year.	Total No. of Members.	No. of Inquirers.
INDIA.							
Calcutta, &c. .	16	13	7	18	44	396	abt. 100
N. India	24	18	4	25	40	395	
Asiatic Islands	17	6	2	10	234	500	150
Africa	5	4	2	1	abt. 25	155	90
WEST INDIES.							
Jamaica	82	30	28	..	about 5000	32,810	18,737
Bahamas . . .	19	4	2	9	557	1176	500
Honduras . . .	5		..	7	44	132	..
Total	168	76	46	70	5944	35,564	19,577

II.—SCHOOLS IN CONNEXION WITH THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1841—2.

EAST INDIES.

	Superintendant.	Day and Boarding School.	SCHOLARS. Boys.	Girls.	Total
CALCUTTA.					
Benevolent Institution .	W. W. Evans	2	265	123	388
Native Christian ditto, or Boys' Boarding-school	G. Pearce	1	52	..	52
Ditto for Girls .	Mr. & Mrs. Wenger	1	..	10	10
Native Institution . . .	G. Small .	1	200	..	200
Narsingdarchok, 5 schools	J. Wenger .	5	180	..	180
Lakhyantipur .	G. Pearce	1	12	..	12
Khári	Ditto .	1	12	..	12
Cutwa	W. Carey . .	1	..	25	25
Birbum	J. Williamson .	2	28	4	32
Ditto, Boarding .	Ditto .	2	5	4	9
Monghir	J. Parsons	2	50	..	50
Ditto, Boarding .	Ditto .	1	..	7	7
Patna	H. Beddy . .	1	35	..	35
Ditto, Boarding .	. . . .	..	..	4	4
Allahabad .	L. Mackintosh .	1	22	..	22
Delhi .	J. T. Thompson	1	..	10	10
Jessore	J. Parry . .	5	150	50	200
Barisal	S. Bareiro . .	1	no re	turns	..
Dacca .	W. Robinson	1	35	..	35
Dinajpur . .	H. Smylie .	1	no re	turns	..
Chittagong . .	J. Johannes . .	1	no re	turns	..
CEYLON.					..
Colombo, &c. .	Eben. Daniel .	27	937	248	1185
Kandy, &c. .	Joseph Harris .	15	254	16	270
About 70 Teachers.	Total . .	74	2237	501	2738

AFRICA.

	Superintendant.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.
Fernando Po	Thomas Sturgeon	1	70
Graham's Town	George Aveline	2	150
		3	220

WEST INDIES.

	Superintendant.	No. of Day Schools.	No. of Day Scholars.	No. of Sunday Scholars.
JAMAICA—NORTH.				
Lucea	E. J. Francies	2	133	320
Gurney's Mount	E. Woolley	2	127	165
Montego Bay	Thomas Burchell	6	947	2015
Salter's Hill	W. Dendy	4	474	716
Bethsalem	John May	1	31	51
Falmouth	William Knibb	4	723	1025
Waldensia	J. E. Henderson	1	112	150
Rio Bueno	P. H. Cornford	1	127	185
Stewart Town	B. B. Dexter	2	160	390
Brown's Town	John Clark	3	494	1223
Bethany	J. H. Dutton	2	277	888
St. Ann's Bay	T. F. Abbott, J. Millard	3	203	800
Port Maria	D. Day	2	..	330
Belle Castle	J. Kingdon	1	90	120
SOUTH.				
Kingston	S. Oughton	2	435	698
Ditto	J. Tinson	2	209	142
Spanish Town	J. M. Phillippo	9	1261	1131
Vale Lionel	J. Williams	2	120	135
Old Harbour	H. C. Taylor	3	185	133
Jericho	J. Merrick	5	425	583
Savanna-la-Mar	J. Hutchins	3	225	231
BAHAMAS.				
Nassau	H. Capern	2	140	
Turk's Island	W. Littlewood	1	60	
HONDURAS.				
Belize	A. Henderson	3	200	
		66	7158	11,431

TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS.

	No. of Day Schools.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Sunday Schools.	No. of Day Scholars.	No. of Sunday Scholars.
India	74	70	no return	2738	no return
Africa . .	3	..	..	220	..
West Indies	66	80	60	7158	11,431
Total . .	143	150	60	10,116	11,431

INCOME OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, FROM 1792 TO 1842.

YEARS.	For General Purposes.			For Special Objects.			TOTAL.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1792-3 .	1085	4	9¼	....			1085	4	9¼
1793-4 .	499	11	9¾	....			499	11	9¾
1794-5 .	1467	9	3	....			1467	9	3
1795-6 .	1186	19	10½	....			1186	19	10½
1796-7 .	718	11	2¼	....			718	11	2¼
1797-8 .	905	19	1	824	13	0	1730	12	1
1798-9 . .	727	9	7	200	0	0	927	9	7
1799-1800 .	928	8	6	1142	17	4	2064	5	10
1800-1 .	1155	17	8	20	10	0	1176	7	8
1801-2 .	1237	9	0	1157	5	5	2394	14	5
1802-3 .	1334	2	11	17	12	0	1351	14	11
1803-4	1609	1	3	23	1	6	1632	2	9
1804-5 .	1975	7	11	1298	9	10	3273	17	9
1805-6 .	2429	3	8	1573	14	9	4002	18	5
1806-7 .	2156	17	7	310	10	2	2467	7	9
1807-8	2324	17	8	2439	11	5	4764	9	1
1808-9 .	2857	3	6	901	11	2	3758	14	8
1809-10									
1810-11 .	3524	5	9	1915	7	7	5439	13	4
1811-12 .	4171	4	10	685 10,611	9 1	11 11*	15,467	16	8
1812-13 .	4328	5	3	4435	19	6	8764	4	9
1813-14 .	5737	6	10	1777	8	8	7514	15	6
1814-15 .	5519	1	4	1092	8	4	7611	9	8
1815-16	7145	2	4	2690	6	8	9835	9	0
1816-17	5253	11	3	1394	8	11	6648	0	2
1817-18 .	7123	19	6	2865	11	5	9989	10	11
1818-19 . .	7851	14	4	1659	3	10	9510	18	2
1819-20, 9 mos	4800	1	3	934	0	0	5734	1	3

* On the fire at Serampore.

YEARS.	For General Purposes.			For Special Objects.			TOTAL.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1820-21	7989	5	9	5740	0	10	13,729	6	7
1821-22	10,149	3	8	2107	6	2	12,256	9	10
1822-23	11,145	1	5	3573	18	0	14,718	19	3
1823-24	9624	3	11	2415	7	5	12,039	11	4
1824-25	12,786	15	10	3188	4	4	15,975	0	2
1825-26	8519	11	9	1988	13	6	10,508	5	3
1826-27	9238	12	2	3065	18	8	12,304	10	10
1827-28	10,475	10	3	1345	12	10	11,821	3	1
1828-29	9125	17	10	1267	19	6	10,393	17	4
1829-30	11,451	1	5	5543	5	4	16,994	6	9
1830-31	10,879	0	7	1872	11	5	12,751	12	9
1831-32	11,777	9	1	922	17	2	12,700	6	3
1832-33	12,261	15	2	439	2	7	12,700	17	9
1833-34	12,051	3	3	2607	3	5	14,658	6	8
1834-35	9773	17	10	14,414	13	10*	24,188	11	8
1835-36	15,729	14	9	627	4	1	16,356	18	10
1836-37	10,339	9	6	4367	3	9	14,706	13	3
1837-38	12,144	5	0	5748	6	6	17,892	11	6
1838-39	16,223	10	11	5947	13	7	22,171	4	6
1839-40	15,236	8	10	3971	14	2	19,208	3	0
1840-41	18,097	5	8	8450	12	1	26,547	17	9
1941-42	18,221	10	6	4505	11	8	22,727	2	2

* Including £13,000 contributed to rebuild the Jamaica chapels.

MISSIONARIES SENT OUT OR ADOPTED BY THE SOCIETY SINCE ITS FORMATION.

Years	Missionaries.		Whence Sent.	Stations.
1793	William Carey, D. D.	(died 1834)	Leicester	
	John Thomas	(died 1801)	Fairford	
1795	Jacob Grigg	(left 1796)	Settled at Bristol	
	James Rodway	(ret. 1796)	Ditto	
1796	John Fountain	(died 1800)	Eagle St. London	
1799	William Ward	(died 1820)	George St. Hull	
	Dan. Brunsdon	(died 1801)	Broadmead, Bristol	
	William Grant	(died 1807)	Ditto	
	Josh. Marshman, D.D.	(died 1838)	Ditto	
1802	Felix Carey	(died 1822)	Serampore	Rangoon.
	John Chamberlain	(died 1822)	Braunston	Serampore.
1803	Joshua Rowe	(dec.)		
	William Moore	(dec.)		Patna.
	Richard Mardon	(died 1812)		Goamalty.
	James Biss	(died 1806)		

LIST OF MISSIONARIES. (CONTINUED.)

Years	Missionaries.	Whence Sent.	Stations.
1805	J. Chater (dec.)	Middleton-Cheny	Rangoon, Ceylon.
	W. Robinson	Olney	Dacca.
1806	Ignatius Fernandez	Serampore	Dinagepore.
1807	William Carey	Ditto	Sadamahl, Cutwa.
1809	Carapeit C. Aratoon	Calcutta	Jessore, Calcutta.
	John Peter	Ditto	Orissa.
1810	William Johns (ret. 1813)		
	John Lawson (died 1825)		Agra.
	— Peacock (died 1821)	Calcutta	
	— Cornish	Ditto	Dacca.
	— Petruse		Jessore.
	O. Leonard	Calcutta	Dacca.
	J. T. Thompson		Ceylon, Patna.
1811	D. Da Cruz		Goamalty.
	William Thomas	Calcutta	Jessore.
1812	De Bruyn (died 1816)		Chittagong.
	N. Kerr	Calcutta	Rangoon,
	L. Mackintosh	Ditto	Agra, Allahabad.
1813	John Rowe (died 1823)	Yeovil	Jamaica.
	W. Smith		Benares.
1814	Eustace Carey (ret. 1823)		Calcutta.
	Thomas Trowt (died 1816)	Plymouth	Java.
	William Yates, D. D.	Leicester	Calcutta.
	Jabez Carey	Calcutta	Amboyna.
1815	De Silva	Ditto	Silhett.
	Lee Compere	Broadmead	Jamaica.
	Hendrick Siers	Ceylon	Ceylon.
1816	— Randall		
	James Penney (died 1839)	Shrewsbury	Calcutta.
1817	James Coultart	Holywood, Dumfries	Jamaica.
	W. H. Pearce (died 1839)	Birmingham	Calcutta.
	Gottlieb Bruckner	Java	Java..
	Stephen Sutton (ret. 1822)		
	William Adam (ret. 1821)	Dunfermline	Surat.
	— Hart (dec.)	Calcutta	Cutwa.
	J. W. Ricketts (dec.)	Amboyna	Amboyna.
	— Griffiths (ret. 1821)		Ceylon.
1818	— Phillips (died 1829)		Samarang.
	Thomas Godden (dec.)		Jamaica.
	Christoph. Kitching (died 1819)	Bradford	Ditto.
	Nath. M. Ward	Calcutta	Sumatra.

LIST OF MISSIONARIES. (CONTINUED.)

Years	Missionaries.		Whence Sent.	Stations.
1819	— Burton			Sumatra.
	Charles Evans	(ret. 1827)		Ditto.
1821	— Johannes		Calcutta	Chittagong.
1822	Joshua Tinson		Bristol	Jamaica.
	James Bourne	(removed)	Bradford	Belize.
	Thomas Knibb	(died 1824)	Broadmead	Jamaica.
	H. Tripp	(dec.)	Java	Montego Bay.
1823	James Williamson		Serampore	Beerbhoom.
	John Statham	(ret. 1826)		Calcutta.
	Andrew Leslie		Edinburgh	Monghyr.
	J. C. Fink		Calcutta	Chittagong.
	— Richards	(dec.)	Benares	Ferruckabad.
	J. M. Phillippo		East Dereham	Jamaica.
	— Hampton		Beerbhoom	Sewri.
	Thomas Burchell			Montego Bay.
	Ebenezer Phillips	(died 1826)		MosquitoBay.
	John Fleming			
1824	William Knibb		Broadmead	Jamaica.
	Thomas Swan		Edinburgh	Serampore.
	— Albreecht			Ditto.
	William Kirkpatrick		Calcutta	Calcutta.
	— Fenwick			Chinsurah.
1826	James Thomas		Bradford	Calcutta.
	George Pearce		Stepney	Jamaica.
	J. Flood	(returned)		Ditto.
	Edward Baylis	(deceased)		Ditto.
	James Mann	(deceased)		Ditto.
1828	Joseph Burton	(returned)	Canterbury	Ditto.
1829	H. C. Taylor		Jamaica	Ditto.
1830	Ebenezer Daniel		Luton	Ceylon.
	— Nicholls	(deceased)		Jamaica.
	W. W. Cantlow	(returned)		Ditto.
	John Clarke			Africa.
	Francis Gardner	(died 1838)	Burton Latimer	Jamaica.
1831	John Shoveller	(deceased)	Penzance	Ditto.
	— Griffith	(deceased)	Birmingham	Ditto.
	W. Whitehorne		Jamaica	Ditto.
	T. F. Abbott		Ditto	Ditto.
	J. D. Ellis	(ret. 1841)	Exeter	Calcutta.
	John Lawrence		Loughton	Digah.
1832	Walter Dendy		Waltham Abbey	Jamaica.
	John Kingdon			Ditto.
	Henry Beddy			Patna.
	W. Davies	(died 1838)	Portsea	Grahams town
1833	— De Monté			Calcutta.
1834	G. T. Anderson	(deceased)	Stepney	Ditto.

LIST OF MISSIONARIES. (CONTINUED.)

Years	Missionaries.	Whence Sent.	Stations.
1834	Kilner Pearson (deceased)		Bahamas.
	B. B. Dexter	Stepney	Jamaica.
	John Hutchins	Ditto	Ditto.
1835	A. Henderson	Hemyock	Belize.
	E. T. Quant (removed)	Bury St. Edmonds	Turk's Island.
1836	John Clark	Devonsh. sq. London	Jamaica.
	Samuel Oughton	Surrey chapel, ditto	Ditto.
1837	James Reid	Glasgow	Ditto.
1838	David Day		Ditto.
	Richard Williams	Agra	Agra.
	Thomas Applegate (returned)	Stepney	Bahamas.
	Thomas Leaver (removed)	Ditto	Ditto.
	H. Philpot (deceased)	Canterbury	
	Robert Bayne (ret. 1841)	Cupar	Calcutta.
	R. Merrick	Jamaica	Jamaica.
	Joseph Harris	St. Alban's	Ceylon.
	Joseph Merrick	Jamaica	Africa.
1839	G. Aveline	Maidstone	Grahams town
	C. M'Carthy	Ceylon	Ceylon.
	G. Parsons (dec.)		Monghyr.
	F. Tucker B. A. (ret. 1841)	Stepney	Calcutta.
	T. Phillips	Ditto	Agra.
	John Morgan	Bristol	Howrah.
	John Wenger	Basle	Calcutta.
	E. J. Francies	Stepney	Jamaica.
	Jabez Tunley	Northampton	Ditto.
	H. Capern	Long Buckby	Bahamas.
	W. Weatherall (deceased)	Halstead	Ditto.
	H. J. Dutton	Stepney	Jamaica.
	G. Rouse		Ditto.
1840	W. W. Evans	Hackney	Calcutta.
	G. Small	Bristol	Ditto.
	John Parsons		Monghyr.
	C. C. Dawson	St. Albans	Ditto.
	J. E. Henderson	Stepney	Jamaica.
	Benjamin Millard	Ditto	Ditto.
	John May	Saltash	Ditto.
	P. H. Cornford	Newport Pagnell	Ditto.
	E. Woolley	Stepney	Ditto.
	William Hare	Hastings	Ditto.
	J. Dallewell (deceased)	Sunderland	Ditto.
	John Williams		Ditto.
	H. Bloomfield	Hastings	Ditto.
	C. Armstrong	Thapstone	Ditto.
	C. H. Hosken (removed)	Clonmell	Belize.
	Dr. Prince		Africa.

LIST OF MISSIONARIES. (CONTINUED.)

Years	Missionaries.	Whence Sent.	Stations.
1841	W. Bontems (returned)	Northampton	Nassau.
	William Littlewood		Ditto.
	W. Lloyd		Jamaica.
	Robert Gibson, B.A. (deceased)	Stepney	Calcutta.
	Thomas Sturgeon	Waltham Abbey	Africa.
	Thomas Dowson	Bradford	Jamaica.
	J. H. Wood	Stepney	Ditto.
	E. Hewett	Ditto	Ditto.

STATIONS, SCHOOLS, &c. CONNECTED WITH THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

EAST INDIES.

I. CALCUTTA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Station Formed

1801 CALCUTTA.—W. YATES, D.D., C. C. ARATOON, JAMES THOMAS, J. D. ELLIS, JOHN WENGER, W. W. EVANS, J. C. PAGE, ROBERT GIBSON, B.A.

Female Missionaries — Mrs. Yates, Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Wenger, and Mrs. Evans.

Native Preachers — Shujaát Ali, Gunga Narayan Sil, and Ram Hari.

1838 INTALLY.—GEORGE PEARCE, GEORGE SMALL.

Female Missionaries—Mrs. Pearce and Mrs. Small.

Native Preachers—Five Students of the Native Christian Institution.

1820 HOWRAH.—THOMAS MORGAN and Mrs. Morgan.

Native Preacher—Harish Chandra.

1824 NARSINGDARCHOK, and five neighbouring villages.—J. WENGER, W. THOMAS. Four native preachers.

1830 LAKHYANTIPUR, Khári, and six neighbouring villages.—G. PEARCE, F. DE MONTE.

Native Preachers—Jacob, and three others.

II. NORTHERN INDIA.

1804 CUTWA.—W. CAREY, and one Native Preacher.

1818 BEERBHOOM, SEWRI.—J. WILLIAMSON.
Native Preachers—Sonátan, Sonátan, jun., Kárádhan.

1817 MONGHYR.—A. LESLIE, J. LAWRENCE, J. PARSONS.
Female Assistant Missionaries—Mrs. Leslie, Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Parsons.
Native Preachers—Nayansukh, Haridas, Sudin.

1820 PATNA.—W. BEDDY.
Native Preacher.—Kashi.

1817 BENARES.—W. SMITH. One Native Preacher.

1817 CHUNAR.—No returns.

1814 ALLAHABAD.—L. MACKINTOSH. One Native Preacher.

1834 AGRA.—R. WILLIAMS, T. PHILLIPS, and Mrs. PHILLIPS.

1818 DELHI.—J. J. THOMPSON.
Native Preacher—Devigir.

1800 JESSORE.—J. PARRY.
Sub-stations—Khaledpur, and seven other villages.
Native Preachers—Ramdhan, and five others.

1828 BARISAL.—S. BARREIRO.
Native Preachers—Bishwanath, and three others.

1816 DACCA, SHAGARDI.—W. ROBINSON, O. LEONARD.
Native Preachers—Chand, Ramjiban, and Moses.

1805 DINAGEPORE, SADAMAHL.—H. SMYLIE.
Native Preacher—Peter.

1815 CHITTAGONG, RANGUNIAH.—J. JOHANNES, J. C. FINK.

III. ASIATIC ISLANDS.

CEYLON.

COLOMBO, including Pettah and Slave Island.—EBENEZER DANIEL, E. M'CARTHY.
Sub-stations—Hanwella, Weilgama, Pittompey, Byamville, Kottighawatta, Hendela, Calany, Toomboville, and about one hundred villages in the neighbourhood of these stations. There are twenty-five schools.
Native Preachers—Carolis, Dionysius, D. Perera, J. Meldor, J. W. Nadar, J. B. Silva, W. Meldor, and thirty school-masters.

KANDY.—JOSEPH HARRIS, C. C. DAWSON, missionary and printer; Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Dawson.
Sub-stations—Matelle De Walla, Matura, Tria Gama, and Uttuan Kandy, and sixteen schools.
Native Preacher—H. C. Silva. Twelve schoolmasters.

JAVA.

SAMARANG — GOTTLOB BRUCKNER.

SUMATRA.

PEDANG — N. M. WARD.

AFRICA.

GRAHAM'S TOWN.—GEORGE AVELINE, Mrs. Aveline.
Sub-station—Karega. One Native Preacher.

FERNANDO PO.—JOHN CLARKE, G. K. PRINCE, M.D., T. STURGEON.
Female Missionary—Mrs. Sturgeon. Two Sub-stations.

WEST INDIES.

I. JAMAICA.

NORTH.

LUCEA AND GREEN ISLAND.—E. J. FRANCIES.
Sub-stations—Mount Moriah, Murch Town.
Day-schools—Lucea, Green Island.
Sunday-schools—Two.
Teachers—Two.

GURNEY'S MOUNT.—E. WOOLLEY.
Sub-station—Fletcher's Grove.
Day-schools—Gurney's Mount, Bamboo.
Sunday-school—One.
Teachers—A. D. Campbell, Miss Chambers, Edward Mirey.

MONTEGO BAY.—THOMAS BURCHELL.
Sub-stations—Shortwood, Mount Carey, Bethel Hill, Tottenham, Watford Hill.
Day-schools—Montego Bay, Shortwood, Mount Carey, Bethel Hill, Tottenham, Ryland Vale.
Sunday-schools—Five.
Teachers—J. C. Hayles, M. Morris, Misses Reid and Plummer, Mr. and Mrs. Vaughan, J. Scott.

SALTER'S HILL AND BETHTEPHIL.—WALTER DENDY, THOMAS PICKTON.
Sub-station—Maldon.
Day-schools—Salter's Hill, Bethtephil, Maldon, Sudbury.
Sunday-schools—Three.
Teachers—Mr. and Mrs. Claydon, Mrs. Baylis.

BETHSALEM AND MIDDLE QUARTERS.—JOHN MAY.
Sub-stations—Accompong, Maroon Town.

Sunday-school—One.
Teacher—Miss Davey.

FALMOUTH AND REFUGE.—WILLIAM KNIBB.
Day-schools—Falmouth, Refuge, Camberwell, Kettering.
Sunday-schools—Five.
Teachers—T. Knibb, A. Silverthorne, J. Wallace, Mr. and Mrs. Bloomfield, Misses Anstie and Yarnold.

WALDENSIA.—J. E. HENDERSON.
Day-school—Waldensia.
Sunday-school—One.
Teacher—Mr. Henderson.

RIO BUENO.—P. H. CORNFORD, B. SMITH.
Sub-station—Dry Harbour.
Day-school—Rio Bueno, Dry Harbour.
Sunday-schools—Two.
Teachers—Mr. and Mrs. Tunley.

STEWART TOWN AND NEW BIRMINGHAM.—B. B. DEXTER.
Day-schools—Stewart Town, New Birmingham.
Sunday-schools—Two.
Teachers—George Milliner, Miss Thomas.

BROWN'S TOWN.—JOHN CLARK.
Sub-stations—Sturge Town, Buxton.
Day-schools—Brown's Town, Sturge Town, Buxton.
Sunday-schools—Two.
Teachers—Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong, Mr. and Mrs. Gabbaden, Mr. R. Brown, and Mrs. M'Innes.

BETHANY AND CLARKSON VILLE.—H. J. DUTTON.
Sub-stations—Stepney, Mount Zion, Carlisle.
Day-schools—Clarkson Ville, Mount Zion.
Evening-school—One.
Sunday-schools—Three.
Teachers—Miss Drayton, J. Johnston, T. Henry.

ST. ANN'S BAY, OCHO RIOS, AND COULTART'S GROVE.—THOMAS F. ABBOTT, B. MILLARD.
Sub-stations—Nichol's Mount, Stacey Ville.
Day-schools—St. Ann's Bay, Coultart's Grove, Stacey Ville
Sunday-schools—Four.
Teachers—J. Higgins, J. Ellis, H. Beckford.

PORT MARIA AND ORACABESSA.—DAVID DAY.
Sub-stations—Bagnal's Vale, Mount Angus.
Day-school—Bethsalem.

Day-schools—(Vacant.)
Sunday-schools—Two.

ANOTTA BAY.—W. LLOYD.

MOUNT CHARLES.

Sub-stations—Brandon Hill, Scott's Hall.

BELLE CASTLE AND DENMARK HILL.—JOHN KINGDON.

Day-school—Belle Castle.
Sunday-school—One.
Teachers—Mrs. Kingdon, Miss Davis.

SOUTH.

KINGSTON, *East Queen-street*, AND PORT ROYAL.—SAMUEL OUGHTON, GEORGE ROUSE.

Sub-stations—Martyrdom, Stanley Hill, Mount Hephzibah.
Day-schools—Kingston, Stanley Hill.
Sunday-schools—Two.
Teachers—G. Rouse, Miss Simpson, W. Spraggs.

KINGSTON, *Hanover-street*, YALLAHS, AND MOUNT ATLAS.—JOSHUA TINSON, J. H. WOOD.

Day-schools—Kingston, Knight's Vale.
Sunday-schools—Two.
Teachers—Mrs. and Miss Nicholson, Mr. and Mrs. Rae.

SPANISH TOWN AND SLIGO TOWN.—J. M. PHILLIPPO, T. DOWSON.

Sub-stations—Passage Fort, Sturge Town, Kitson Town, Rock River.
Day-schools—Spanish Town, Passage Fort, Sturge Town, Kitson Town, Rock River, Dawkins's Caymanas.
Sunday-schools—Seven.
Evening-schools—Eight.
Teachers—J. O'Meally, E. Carr, M. M'Vicar, E. Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. Harriot, Mr. and Mrs. Ogborne, Margaret Lawrence, Mr. and Mrs. Ennis, Agnes Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. Archer, Edward O'Meally.

VALE LIONEL.—J. WILLIAMS.

Sub-stations — Chantile, Mandeville, Victoria Township, Marlton.
Day-school—Vale Lionel.
Sunday-school—One.
Teachers—Mr. and Mrs. P. O'Meally, Mr. and Mrs. Roden.

OLD HARBOUR, NEW LIONEL, AND MOUNT FREEDOM.—H. C. TAYLOR.

Sub-stations—Hill Side.
Day-schools—Old Harbour, New Lionel, Mount Freedom.

Sunday-school—One.

Teachers—J. Walker, J. Western, and Sons.

FOUR PATHS AND EBONY CHAPEL.—JAMES REID.

JERICHO, MOUNT HERMON, SPRINGFIELD, AND SMYRNA.—R. MERRICK, J. MERRICK.

Sub-stations—Lucky Valley, Guy's Hill.

Day-schools—Jericho, Mount Hermon, Lucky Valley, Mount Nebo, Smyrna.

Sunday-schools—Five.

Teachers—Misses S. and D. Merrick, C. M'Tavish, O'Meally, Richard Watson, C. Lewin.

SAVANNA-LA-MAR AND FULLER'S FIELD.—JOHN HUTCHINS, J. HUME.

Sub-stations—Bunyan's Mount, Shrewsbury.

Day-schools—Savanna-la-Mar, Fuller's Field, Bunyan's Mount.

Sunday-schools—Three.

Teachers—Misses Hutchins, Vanhorne, and Lake, James Valentine, R. L. M'Murdock.

II. BAHAMA ISLANDS.

NEW PROVIDENCE, NASSAU. — H. CAPERN, W. BONTEMS, Mr. M'DONALD, Mrs. Capern.

Sub-stations—Carmichael, Adelaide, Good Hope Hill.

ELEUTHERA. Governor's Harbour.—*Native Helper*—Jas. Gardiner.

ST. SALVADOR. Anguilla, Bluff, Pigeon Bay. — *Native Helpers*— T. Miller, A. Hepburn, D. Seymour.

RUM KEY. Old Hill, South Side.—*Native Helpers*—P. Hepburn, G. Hall.

TURK'S ISLAND, Grand Cay—W. LITTLEWOOD, Mrs. Littlewood.

Sub-station—Salt Cay, Lorimers, Creek, Kew. Three Native Helpers.

SOUTH AMERICA.

HONDURAS.

BELIZE.—ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

Sub-stations—Spanish Creek, Baker's Bank, Carib Town, Mosquito Shore.

Native Preachers and Schoolmasters—John Rock, William Michael, J. Warner, Mrs. Warner, G. Howell, and two others.

A BRIEF

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY

OF THE

GENERAL BAPTIST MISSION.

COMMUNICATED CHIEFLY

By the Rev. J. PEGGS.

SKETCH,

&c.

The revival of the missionary spirit in the baptist denomination, as described in the former part of these volumes, might naturally be expected to exert a valuable influence upon the general interests of religion in Great Britain, and throughout the empire. As an old writer has said, "we are *really*, what we are *relatively*;" and the importance of the baptist mission must be attentively viewed in its relative bearings, to appreciate its magnitude. During the 17th century, the general baptists of England were an active and numerous body of christians, orthodox in sentiment, and fervent in piety; but the doctrine of socinianism insinuated itself, thinned their numbers, and spread a general torpor over the denomination. At length the indefatigable Dan Taylor arose; wrote, travelled, and preached on behalf of the doctrines of the gospel; and gathered around him a band of brethren who boldly defended the faith once delivered to the saints. They ultimately formed themselves into a distinct society under the name of "the New Connexion of

General Baptists." This important measure was effected in the year 1770, from which time the new connexion has gradually increased in numbers and influence, while the old general baptists have continued to decline into insignificance. The rise of the Baptist Missionary Society having spread a new influence through the churches, and kindled a zeal for the salvation of the world, the new connexion partook of this revival; though for some years they fancied themselves too few in number, and too limited in resources, to attempt any thing for missions. Providence at length raised up the Rev. J. G. Pike, of Derby, to advocate the cause. In 1809, he attended the association at Quorndon, in Leicestershire, and suggested the propriety of a mission to the heathen; then without effect. But the fire at Serampore, in 1812, awakened the sympathies and liberality of the churches; some valuable papers, written by Mr. Pike, appeared in the General Baptist Repository; and at the association held at Boston, on the 27th of June, 1816, it was resolved, after much discussion,—"We highly approve of a general baptist foreign mission; and heartily recommend it to the friends of this measure, immediately to form themselves into a society for the prosecution of this object. The first missionaries of the Society, Messrs. Bampton and Peggs, sailed to India in company with the Rev. W. Ward, Mrs. Marshman, Miss Marshman, the Rev. J. Mack, and Miss Cook, afterwards Mrs. Wilson, who was eminently useful in the establishment of female schools. They embarked at the end of May, reached Serampore, November the 15th, 1821, where they were kindly received; and

after much deliberation and prayer, concluded that they were called in providence to proceed to Orissa. They accordingly hired a vessel, which conveyed them to Patamoondy, about thirty miles from Cuttack, the capital of Orissa, where they arrived on the 12th of February, 1822.

"The extent and boundaries of the territory called Orissa, on the Bay of Bengal, have undergone many changes at different periods of its history. In the more prosperous days of the Orissan monarchy, it comprised within its limits four modern zillahs entire, and portions of three others, viz., Midnapore, Cuttack, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam, with parts of the jungle Mehals, Hoogly, and Rajamundry, besides a portion of the woodland of Gondwana. There seems good reason to believe that Cuttack became a capital city as early as the end of the tenth century. The annalists are fond of relating, that when the famous Seva Jay Sing, the general of Akber, marched with an army into Orissa, in 1530, being struck with amazement at the sight of its sacred river, the Mahamuddee, its vast crowds of brahmins, its lofty temples of stone, and all the wonders of the ancient capital, he exclaimed, 'This country is not a fit subject for conquest, and schemes of human ambition; it belongs wholly to the gods, and is one entire teerta, or holy place.' He accordingly returned to Hindostan, interfering but little in its affairs, leaving a large share of authority in the hands of the native princes."*

* Paper by A. Sterling, Esq., on Orissa Proper, in the Asiatic Researches., vol. xv.

"Ootkul Khand, or Orissa, is supposed to be the ancient country of the Or, or Oriya tribe of Hindoos, and comprises an interesting and extensive portion of the honourable company's territory in India. It is situated between 19 and 23 degrees north latitude, and 84 to 88 degrees east longitude. But its boundaries have been so often enlarged and contracted in different periods of Orissian history, that at the present day it is difficult, if not impossible, to mark them with precision. The country of Orissa, however, as it is generally understood, consists of a long narrow strip of land, extending from Midnapore in the north, to a few miles beyond Ganjam in the south, and from the shores of the Bay of Bengal in the east, to Singboom, Sumplepoor, and Sonepoor, &c., situated among the vast range of mountainous country in the west, comprising a tract of about three hundred miles in length, and from twenty to one hundred and seventy in breadth. The Orissa nation, however, has in different periods of its history, carried its arms and language to a much greater extent than is here described; and at the present day, some traces of its former power are discoverable in the neighbouring countries of Bengal and Telinga."*

The great mass of the people being Hindoos, the same general system of idolatry prevails in Orissa as in Bengal, and every part of Hindostan. "The mass of the people," says Mr. Sterling, "are little prone to the commission of crimes of daring and heinous character, but they are well versed in all the arts of low cunning,

* Sutton's Narrative of the Mission to Orissa.

dissimulation, and subterfuge, and the love of intrigue forms a prominent feature in their character, however clumsy many of their attempts to mislead or circumvent. Their manners are sufficiently dissolute, which is not to be wondered at, considering the obscene character and impure symbols of the demoralising religion they profess." The celebrity of Juggernaut, and the popularity of the pilgrimages to this shrine, have ever been a curse to the country, introducing, constantly, poverty and misery, disease and death, among its inhabitants.† One of the greatest obstacles to the progress of christianity, has been the connexion a professedly christian government with the debasing superstition of the natives. Some considerable modification of this system has happily taken place, the pilgrim tax having been repealed at Juggernaut, Gya, and Allahaba d, under the Bengal presidency. It is to be deeply regretted, that the temple lands of Juggernaut are still in the hands of government, and an allowance of sixty thousand rupees per annum is made to support the idol's establishment.

It may be presumed that the labours of the missionaries are so similar to those of their brethren in

† See Vol. i. pp. 173, 174. Whoever wishes for further information respecting Juggernaut, may consult Hamilton's Description of Hindostan, vol. ii., pp. 51—53; Asiatic Journal, March 1824; Stirling's Account of Orissa, in Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., pp. 321—325; Buchanan's Researches; Sutton's Narrative, &c., &c. A curious account of the establishment at Juggernaut was published in the "Friend of India" for April, 1822, and Asiatic Journal, May, 1823, extracted from Rennell's MS. of Orissa.

other parts of India, as to preclude the necessity of minute detail. "The Orissa missionaries," to quote from one of the reports of the Society, "as a body have ever been characterised by their efforts to carry out to the fullest possible extent the commission of our Lord, 'Go preach the gospel to every creature.' Daily, in the bazar, at the markets or numerous festivals, or by travelling from village to village, they have sought to make known, from their own lips, the message of mercy to sinful man. Long experience convinces them, that while neither European nor native preachers can alone successfully engage in this work, the union of the two is the most efficient form that can be adopted. As an auxiliary to preaching, we have been largely engaged in the preparation and printing of the Scriptures and tracts in Oorea,—besides the New Testament, a revised edition of which was completed in 1840, and a large edition of each of the gospels, added to the Old Testament, now in progress of translation and printing. We have ordered, for the present year's supply, eighty thousand tracts, and several works of a larger kind for native christians. There are few of our converts who have not been more or less indebted to our tracts for their first knowledge of the gospel. Another branch of labour is our schools, to which reference is made in the different reports of the brethren."

A valuable institution was founded in January, 1824, for the instruction of the Indo-British youth in the province. The premises were erected under the superintendence of Mr. Lacey, who exerted himself so successfully in raising subscriptions for the accomplishment of the object, that a grant of less than £30 from

the funds of the Society was found sufficient to clear the balance of debt incurred by the erection. Mr. Pigou, the pious judge at the station, materially assisted the design, by employing convicts to labour in levelling the ground, and in various other ways. An expense of at least five hundred rupees was thus saved. Mr. Lacey states, that this gentleman thus "finished off the grounds, gardens, &c., in a very complete manner;" and adds, "the whole imparts a character to the town." This school has been since merged into a larger institution, supported by government. Mr. Sutton says, "The determination to remove the government school from Pooree to Cuttack turned the scale. The government school promised to give a better education than we could do, and upon a scale of expenditure to which we could make no approach, and would, moreover, absorb the funds upon which we had hitherto depended. Thus after running its useful course for fifteen years, distributing the streams of knowledge through many parts of this desert province, the stream has swollen into a river, whose waters, if less limpid, will yet form a vaster body, swelling on, we trust, with increasing power, and bearing on their bosom the ark of knowledge through the length and breadth of the land."

The indigenous schools, conducted by native masters, as originally established, were, from the character of the masters, productive of little good. Mr. Lacey states that a school of this kind has been recently commenced, with a christian master. He writes,—"The great objection to these schools, and which indeed led to their abandonment, was that we were obliged to employ heathen masters. The conversion of Sebo, one of our

former teachers, has afforded us an opportunity of trying a christian master in a heathen school. Mrs. Lacey has completely succeeded in the attempt, and she has now a school in Nimcie, a place of one of our former schools, containing thirty-two boys. There are five boys able to read the Scriptures, and twelve others able to read catechisms. They are under the care and instruction of Sebo Niak. The parents made some demur, but their objections are subsiding, and we hope in a little time, to have a number more schools of the same character."

The establishment of native boys' and girls' asylums has formed an interesting feature of missionary labour. They were commenced in May, 1836, with ten or eleven children of both sexes. Since that time, upwards of one hundred children, including eighteen sent for a time from Berhampore, have found a refuge in them. Some have completed the system of education, and are now entering on the active duties of life. Four of the girls have been married to native christians. Within two years, eleven of the native pupils, and five from the English department, including the master and his wife, were baptized and united to the church. Three or four more were subsequently baptized by Mr. Stubbins. A number of these children are from the Khunds, who inhabit the district of Goomsur, near Juggernaut, and are remarkable for the prevalence of infanticide and human sacrifices. In 1837, Captain Millar rescued several who were to have been sacrificed in a few days. In 1838, Captain Campbell, assistant to the collector of Ganjam, rescued *more than a hundred* while on a tour in the country. The following form of

invocation to the Khund goddess was communicated to the wife of Mr. Peggs by Mrs. Lacey of Cuttack. She writes,—"This extract was repeated from memory by Abraham, a Khund boy in the school at Cuttack, to Mr. Lacey, who of course translated it. He was then a great fat boy, and would soon have been sacrificed, had he not been rescued by the English officers. He well remembers, and relates, how he was stolen from his mother. She was then a widow. They had laid down to sleep for the night, when the men entered the hut, and beating the mother and children, placed poor Abraham over their shoulders, blindfolded him, and carried him off. He is now sixteen years old, and has been baptized. The following is the form of invocation before the sacrifice :—

Hail, mother, hail! hail goddess Bhobanee!
Lo, we present a sacrifice to thee,
Partake thereof, and let it pleasure give,
And in return, let us thy grace receive.
With music's various sound, on festive day,
Lo, thee we worship, and thy rights obey.
Hail, all ye gods! who in the mountain dwell,
In the wild jungle, or the lonely dell;
Come all, together come, with one accord,
And take the sacrifice we have prepared:
In all the fields, and all the plots we sow,
O let a rich and plenteous harvest grow;
O all ye gods and goddesses give ear,
And be propitious to our earnest prayer!
Behold a youth, for sacrifice decreed,
Blooming with tender flesh, and flushed with blood;
No sire, no matron, view him as their own,
His flesh, his blood, his life, his all, are thine;

Without the pale of sacred wedlock born,
We took and fed him for thy right alone;
Now lo! with rites from all pollution free,
We offer him, O Bhobanee, to thee.
Taste now this offering, satisfy thy heart,
And bid us joyful to our homes depart;
Taste now this offering, and propitious be,
And let us each, marks of thy favour see."

The Khund territory, or the district of Goomsur, appears never to have been entered by any minister of the gospel before Mr. Brown's visit, and like other "dark places of the earth, it is full of the habitations of cruelty." Besides the horrid custom of immolating numerous human victims to the goddess of their fields, Mr. Brown learned that infanticide existed among these savage mountaineers, in all its horrible enormity. He remarks,—"The practice I believe here, as was the case in most other parts of India, is almost entirely confined to female infants. The custom, judging from the measure of information I can obtain on this subject, is something like the following. When the child is born, and the sex is ascertained, and it turns out to be a female infant, it is destroyed, there being very few of the Khunds who think it worth the trouble and expense to bring it up; and hence the destruction of the poor and helpless infant is, by these terrible savages, immediately determined on. There are, of course, exceptions to this horrible and bloody custom; but this is most frequently the case. The place of these children, so ruthlessly destroyed, is supplied by importations from the neighbouring countries or districts. It is thought, by these mercenary and savage

people, to be much better to steal, or even purchase grown up females, for purposes of marriage, than to be at the expense of bringing them up from infancy. As these people are constantly in the habit of buying, or perhaps stealing children, or even grown up persons, for the horrible and infernal sacrifices before mentioned, there is, of necessity, but little difficulty in obtaining females for a more humane and honourable purpose. The manner in which these murders are committed, is said to be by exposing the infant. Either the inhuman father, or the persons assisting at the birth of the child, acting with the consent of one or both of the parents, take the infant, and placing it in a basket or cheth, go with it to the jungle, and there finding a retired spot, far from the accustomed path, the poor weeping infant is left to perish. The jackals or the tigers, which are numerous in these hills, soon devour the bodies of these poor children; and the probability is, that even whilst still breathing, they are sometimes caught by these ravenous beasts of prey." Mr. Sutton thus records the circumstances of saving a poor neglected child whom he adopted, and who accompanied him and Mrs. Sutton to America in 1833:—"One evening just before the commencement of the Ruth Jattra, in 1828, I went out into a neighbouring village to preach; and at the entrance of the place, at the foot of a large tree, saw a woman lying with an infant. She proved to be a jattree from Upper Hindostan, who had been seized with the cholera, and had either wandered from her companions, or been forsaken by them. I gave her medicine, and did what he could to restore her; but she died on the third day. In the

mean time, the poor infant was perishing for want of its mother's nourishment. I tried every argument to I could command to induce the hard-hearted villagers to feed the child, and offered to pay any expense. The woman was of good caste; and hence they might, without the least prejudice to themselves, have even suckled the child, which is very common among them. I did, however, by dint of much perseverance, at length obtain a little milk, which the poor thing devoured with the utmost greediness, and crawled after me for more, with an expression of supplication which would have touched a stone. I asked a wealthy brahmin, close to whose house the woman and child lay, if the mother died, what was to become of the child; to which he answered, 'O, she must die too—what else!' Seeing there was nothing to be done with the savage people, soon as the mother died, I took the child home, and she is now an interesting little thing between five and six years of age. To this may be added,—I met a sergeant, a few miles from Balasore, who had picked up a child by the way-side, miserably mangled by the ants; it died about a fortnight after. There is reason to fear that many children perish in this way, especially at Pooree."

The extensive employment of native agency, and the frequent intercourse of the missionaries with the people, form a striking feature of missionary exertion. The Rev. C. Lacey, in the Indian report of the Society for 1841, says,—"The gospel has been preached among the people in Cuttack, in several populous places of resort, almost without exception, every day throughout the year. The tidings of divine mercy have been carried into the

surrounding provinces. Accompanied by several of the native brethren, I passed through the district of Khunda, on a journey to Ganjam and Berhampore, which occupied more than a month. During this journey, we had daily opportunities of preaching to the people, in their bazars, towns, and villages, the glorious gospel of the blessed God. A tour has been made from Cuttack eastward to Assuresmara, and thence northward to Jajpore and Khundita. Almost every day throughout this tour, we preached in large markets to hundreds of listening people. Several large festivals have been visited, and the gospel has been stated and defended amongst assembled thousands at the Ruth festival, at Pooree, the Singpore, in the Mudhupore territory, the Makara Sangkrant, at Bhobuneswer, &c. In these labours I have been accompanied and assisted by the native brethren—Gungadhor, Ram Chundra, Doitaree, Bamadab, Sebo Saho, and Lockhundass, and occasionally by Sebo Naik, Santana, Somo Nath, and Damodura, several of whom have talents for usefulness as preachers, and are desirous of engaging in the work of preaching the gospel to their idolatrous countrymen. Some of our native brethren have not always been able to suppress the expression of their contempt for the idols they once adored; yet generally they have exposed the weakness and folly of idolatry so as not to offend their hearers, leaving them to the cool operation of their own judgment."

At their entrance upon the work, the missionaries seemed to be engaged in a hopeless enterprise; for nearly six years they were accustomed to hear from their own countrymen—'You will never make a

convert among the followers of Juggernaut;' but they struggled on, trusting in God, till they beheld the proud brahmin presenting himself at their feet as their first convert, and listening, with not less of sincerity than of eagerness, to the words of eternal life. This was the commencement of a series of conversions. Since 1828, the records of adult baptism show—fifty Europeans and East Indians, six native converts, and one hundred and ninety-six nominal christians and inquirers. Of these, after several years of trial as assistants, five have been solemnly ordained as evangelists, while six are still employed as assistant preachers, and three are missionary students. Of the caste of these fourteen individuals, three were brahmins and three naiks, one a Telinga karane (or writer), one a pure Boisya, one a byragee (or mendicant), one a Mahratta (son of the killadar of Cuttack), one a Bengalee, one a Khundart, one a farmer, and one a Mahantee. It is remarkable that there has been only one of a low caste baptized among all the converts.

The first general baptist chapel in Orissa was commenced in May, 1826. Mr. Sutton stood upon the stone, and delivered an appropriate address; and Mr. Lacey laid the first foundation-stone. The ground on which it stands was once occupied by a heathen temple of Mahadave, one of the most filthy and disgusting of the Hindoo deities. The place has witnessed some of the most abominable and immoral transactions perpetrated before the image of the shameful lingua; but now—O how changed! Where once stood this polluted edifice, now stands the house of the holy God; where once was worshipped that

shameful image, Jesus the living God is now adored; and where once sounded the din and discordant yell of idol-worship, now sounds the joyful note of prayer and praise to God and to the Lamb.

In 1838, Mr. Lacey writes,—"The chapel at Cuttack has been enlarged to more than double its former size. Its present dimensions are fifty feet long by thirty wide, with a verandah ten feet wide on the sides and front." This enlargement was rendered necessary by the increase of Europeans at the station, by the additions made to the native church, and by the increase, almost every month, of the native congregation. This rendered the former chapel inconveniently small, especially on those sabbaths when the Lord's supper was administered. Mr. Sutton collected for the object about seven hundred rupees, which he transferred to the hands of Mr. Lacey, who had much of the superintendence of the work. A circular was sent to the christian residents in Cuttack and the vicinity, which soon raised about five hundred rupees more. To this, subsequent additions were made, and the whole expense, amounting to one thousand four hundred and twenty rupees, has been defrayed. Above an acre has been added to the chapel ground. A tank has been opened in the centre of this ground for use on baptismal occasions. This tank is about one hundred feet wide. With the soil taken from the tank, the ground in the old chapel yard has been improved, and enclosed with an embankment to prevent the ingress of the flood in the rainy season. The whole of the ground which has been inclosed, is planted round with cocoa-nut trees of five years' growth, which add much

to the appearance of the place, and will hereafter add to the usefulness of the new enclosure. The cocoa-nut plant being the exclusive perquisite of the sacerdotal class, and being usually planted around the temples of the land, their appearance about this christian sanctuary produces a favourable impression on the natives.

"Mr. Lacey remarks,—'I find it now just twelve years since the chapel was first opened. I laid the foundation-stone in May 1826, and on November the 5th, of that year, delivered the first sermon. Brother Sutton was at Cuttack at the time, and assisted; and we have been spared through twelve eventful years, in an Indian climate, and are now permitted together to re-open the chapel after an enlargement to more than twice its former size. This is what is seldom seen in India. We were then without a single native convert and yesterday the coldest heart must have been warmed to have beheld our native christian congregation.'"

Among the Indo-British, the labours of the Society have been owned of God. The first baptism was of a respectable man of this class, named Rennell, son of the celebrated engineer, in April, 1823. His wife and sister were converted by Mr. Peter, while at Balasore. He soon finished his course.

The first Hindoo who broke the chain of caste in Orissa, and put on Christ by baptism, was Erun, a Telinga, converted to christianity by Mr. Bampton's labours at Berhampore. "When I was at this place last March," says Mr. Bampton, "Erun publicly broke a little idol, which his class carry hung round their necks. The day after he broke his lingum, he washed

off his idolatrous marks; and I believe he has never resumed them since. His acquaintance with us seems to have emboldened him against idolatry; and he has rendered himself remarkable ever since by his opposition to it. I baptized him in a tank called the Ramalingum Tank, on the 25th instant. I briefly addressed the bystanders, preaching the gospel to them, and told them that Jesus Christ required first faith and then baptism; that my friend Erun had forsaken Hindooism—that he had given up his caste—that he believed in Jesus Christ, and wished thus to connect himself with his followers. I then asked Erun if this was not the case, and he said it was. I then requested his answer to a few questions, which, with his replies, I shall subjoin:—'Do you honour the Hindoo gods?' 'No.' 'What do you think of the Hindoo shasters?' 'They are all false.' 'Are you a sinner?' 'Yes.' 'Who saves sinners?' 'Jesus Christ.' 'What did Jesus Christ do to save sinners?' 'He died for them.' 'Who will be saved?' 'Those who rely on him.' 'Do you believe in Jesus Christ?' 'I do.' 'Do you wish to obey Jesus Christ?' 'I do.' 'Jesus Christ requires his followers to abstain from worldly business every sabbath, and devote the day to religious exercises. Do you engage to comply with this requisition?' 'I do.' 'Do you wish to be baptized.' 'Yes.'"

The report of 1840 gives the following testimony to the perseverance and piety of the first convert, like Krishna, in Bengal, becoming an "example to the believers:"—"Erun is now aged. He cannot read, but his son reads the Bible to him; he dwells at times with

much delight on the kind instructions he received from Mr. and Mrs. Bampton. After a sermon on the judgment, Erun was asked by a friend, why he hoped to go to heaven. He replied, 'There was a flock of goats that the tigers and bears had seized, the good Shepherd rushed in among them, and brought him out, and now if he, till death, continued to love and follow that good shepherd, he should be taken to dwell with him in heaven.'"

The first Ooreat convert was Gungadhor. His baptism is thus recorded:—"Lord's day, March 23, 1828, we baptized the first Ooreat general baptist christian, a brahmin and a preacher. After suitable preparatory devotional exercises, and all things being in readiness, Gungadhor, taking hold of his poita, the badge of his brahminhood, and the sign of the highest honour a Hindoo can possess, threw it into brother Cropper's hands, and was immediately baptized. Soon after the baptism of Gungdahor, the ordinance was administered to a widow, who about three months before had sent a box full of her virgins, saints' crosses, &c., and offered herself as a candidate. In July, Mr. Lacey baptized two other persons, of whom the following account is given:—'They were both Roman Catholics, and consequently worshippers of idols; but I believe the Lord has gradually enlightened their minds by the preaching of the gospel, and the private instructions they have received.'"* Gungadhor has proved a very valuable assistant in the mission.

The following incident appears worthy of preser-

* Sutton's Narrative.

vation:—A devotee went one day to the house of Gungadhor to ask for rice. His boy, about six years old, was at the door, and replied, "I cannot give you rice, ask the house." He answered, "Why should I do so, it cannot give me any thing." Then said the boy, "Ask the tree," pointing to a cocoa-nut tree. "That cannot understand me if I do," was the reply. "Then ask Juggernaut, whom you worship," said the lad, "he will understand as well as the tree, because he is wood." The poor fellow immediately walked away, bearing his rebuke as well as he could.

An interview with some new missionaries is very graphically described, and affords a specimen of Gunga's eloquence. It took place on the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson at Cuttack in March, 1839:— "The native preachers soon heard of our arrival, and came to see us. They had assembled in an adjoining room. Brother Lacey led us to them. All were seated on the floor, but they instantly arose, and presented a noble army on the Lord's side. I was truly delighted to see their intelligent faces, and hear their solicitude for the best interests of their countrymen. Gunga, in his figurative manner of speaking, asked Mr. Wilkinson 'If any other missionaries were hanging to his tail?' We said, 'Why are you so anxious that others should come?' He gave three reasons:—1. Because there was a great sinking in the well of ignorance, and more ropes were wanted to pull the people out. 2. Many were drowning in the sea of sin, and more ships must be sent to rescue them. 3. He desired that many more christians should follow the example of Christ, who left heaven that he might do good to men."

Another interesting convert and native preacher is Ram Chundra, whose father was the killadar, or governor, at the fort at Cuttack in the time of the Mahrattas. A letter which he addressed to England cannot be read without deep interest:—

"Letter of Ram Chundra to christians in England, giving praise to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. O all sincere brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ, to you Ram Chundra, a sinner and a christian, now sends much salutation!

"In former times I was involved in works of darkness, but, by the mercy of God, I obtained to hear of the great good news. After having heard it, sin sprang up in my mind greatly, and my soul much dreaded the punishment of hell; hence, remaining in my house, I had much sorrow, and wept. My heart feared this world, and hence I prayed to the Lord in secret, and asked the Holy Spirit's help. The Lord in mercy granted me to obtain some help of the Holy Spirit. After this, calling my wife and children, my household and and relatives, and my neighbours and acquaintances, I said to them, I am dead to the customs of this your world; and by the death of Cnrist Jesus, I am determined to flee into the mercy of God. I will save my spirit from sin and the torments of hell." After I had said this, they wept and lamented with a loud voice; as when one is dead in a house, so they wept. I came to Cuttack, and there many people attempted to convince me, but I disregarded their word. On the Lord's day I was baptized by Lacey padre sahib. After this, the people of the country, my own household and friends, abused and persecuted me much. None gave

me a place to sit down upon; thus much affliction came on me, but the Lord kept me from all danger. All the rest left me, but my wife and children came and joined me.

"From that day I have proclaimed the good news unto the people. What the Holy Spirit puts into my mind, that I proclaim. Every day I read the holy book, and worship three times; once, in secret, I pray unto the Lord, and twice, with my wife and children assembling, I bless and praise God. I pray with my mind always, and in this manner, through pain and pleasure, I have maintained life. I die to sin daily, and try to live to holiness. Satan daily condemns me before God, and creates differences between my brethren and sisters, which discourage me; but by the mercy and grace of God, the Lord Jesus daily increases my faith. From hence, with my body, I serve sin, but taking my spirit, I serve and praise God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus I daily live, and those days that I neglect to preach the good news, and do not pray, on those days my mind is in pain, on those days my spirit has no pleasure. Thus I have tried to tell you a little of my mind, and I will hereafter tell you my experience in full. Pardon my freedom in writing; and to the Lord, for our brothers and sisters in Orissa, you must pray, for we are all of weak minds."

The importance of native agency has long been felt by the missionaries. They say, "Our own convictions of duty, as well as the hopelessness of expecting adequate help from England, urges upon us the importance of paying more attention to the raising up of a native ministry. We have among our converts many

interesting and promising youths, whom we ought to educate with this view; and it is only from such that we can hope to obtain men of cultivated minds able to contend with the brahminical learning and sophistry of the province, and wield the sword of the Spirit with competent skill and success." Under these convictions, a commencement has been made of an academy for the instruction of native students. "The Lord give the word, and increase the company of them that publish it!"

The establishment of christian colonies has been found highly conducive to the comfort of the converts, and the progress of christianity. In reference to them, Mr. Lacey writes,—"Of these interesting and important institutions, I have to note more than at any former period in the history of the Orissa mission. They form the criterion of its outward enlargement and prosperity. Christian natives must form themselves into colonies and separate communities. They have no possessions when they embrace the gospel, and they are not permitted to mix with the population of the country. Our four colonies are Christianpoor, Khunditta, Bhogerpoor, and Choga. The latter is in the territory of the Athgur rajah. In Christianpoor there are eighteen families, in Khunditta, four, in Bhogerpoor, five, and in Choga one; besides these, at all these places there are families of inquirers; and other christian families are either separately located, or are living upon our compounds. Choga is five, Bhogerpoor is eight, and Khunditta is forty miles from Cuttack. Choga is the village whence Bamadab, Hurree-pare, Kinapare, and Treelochur came, more than six years

ago. Christian light has been at work ever since. Prosua has since been baptized from Choga; we have three inquirers now at Cuttack from the same place, and hear of many more upon whose minds the light of truth is breaking. Prosua has obtained permission to retain his house and farm there; and as he is permitted to do so, others will have the same privilege. We hope the time is not very far off, when the christian colonies will be able to be recognised as separate churches, and support their own native ministers."

The Hindoo convert often displays the spirit of a martyr. The following extract of a conversation with one of them will illustrate this:—"Should you be baptized, you must live a regular and holy life; you must daily pray to God, and think on his love and grace; and must continue doing so till death: can and will you do this?" "God having given me strength, I will." "Your profession of Christ will involve your loss of caste, relations, husband, children, and your comfortable circumstances of life it may be; and will involve you in disgrace and persecution, and perhaps poverty: had you not better consider well whether you can endure these things?" "I have thought of all this, and am willing to bear all. I came out of my house after having made up my mind to do so. I wish now to sacrifice myself to my Lord; I cannot bear any thing compared with what he bore."

One of the most interesting views of the labours and success of the Orissa mission, in common with other missions, is the effective operations of the press. It is very forcibly stated in one of the recent reports—"In any land, religious publications are a principal

means of diffusing heavenly truth." Even in our favoured island, multitudes by christian books and tracts have been directed to the Saviour.* A scarcity of books is favourable to the reign of darkness and sin. Baxter represents the great destruction of religious books in the fire of London, as one cause of the aboundings of iniquity in the reign of Charles II. But if their scarcity is an extreme evil, what must have been the state of India a few years ago? It is a subject for devout rejoicing, that a very different state of things now exists, and that religious publications are circulated by tens of thousands." The following statement by Mr. Sutton at Cuttack respecting publications and translations, is extracted from the report of 1841:—

	Pages.	Copies.
The whole New Testament, completed	578	1050
Gospel of Matthew, 12mo.	100	5000
Ditto ditto, 8vo.	72	1000
Ditto John, 8vo. . . .	64	5000
Doddridge's Rise and Progress, 1st part .	96	2000
Nestar Rutna Kara, or Jewel Mine of Salvation, sixth edition in part	16	10,000
Dhurma Pustack Sar, sixth edition in part	20	10,000
Mirror of the Soul (anecdotes)	68	5000
Divine Alphabet, second edition . .	12	5000
First Catechism, with plates, seventh edition	16	5000
Ditto, without plates	12	10,000

* When Mr. Lacey was distributing books at Juggernaut temple, he says, "After all was over, and the books distributed, a poor old man came and touched my shoe, and said, 'O great king! there is salvation in your books, but I a poor old man have not obtained one. Sir, let there be an order in my favour.'"

	Pages.	Copies.
Second Oriya Catechism, second edition	36	5000
Life of Christ, (a poem)	52	5000
Way of Salvation (Vivian's)	28	5000
Destroyer of Delusion	20	5000
Gate Thrown Open .	12	5000
Fables in Oriya, third edition	18	500
Oriya Primer, third edition . .	16	1000
Mitra Labh, a poem from the Hitopadesh	40	
Summary Suits	112	
Batris Singhasun	120	
Geet Govinda	50	
Official Terms	32	
Series of Dictionaries in progress.		
Genesis in progress.		
The Miracles and comment	32	5000
The Parables and comment .	24	5000
An English tract or two, &c., &c.		

The dictionaries mentioned are three, and must entail a heavy labour on their author. They are thus described in the prospectus,—1. The English and Oriya Dictionary consists of a selection of the most useful words in the English language, with corresponding definitions in Oriya. The most useful and generally understood terms have been employed where procurable, and in a few cases where a Hindostanee word has obtained currency, that has been added. 2. The Oriya and English Dictionary the author intends shall contain all the words current in the language, so far as he is able to collect them, whether of pure Oriya origin, or derivations from the Sungskrit. 3. The Oriya Dictionary with Oriya syonyms and definitions, though perhaps less needed at first by Europeans, is in the author's estimation, indispensable to an

improvement of the language, and will soon yield its fruit for the benefit of the European as well as the native student.

In the review of the operations of the press, as connected with the agents of the mission, the useful works published in English within the last few years must not be overlooked. These are—"Lacey's Reflections at the Temple of Juggernaut in 1825;" "Sutton's Family Chaplain," 2 vols. 8vo., containing fifty-two sermons, dedicated to Col. d'Aguilar, of Balasore, and Capt. Minchin, of Pooree; an Ooreat Grammar, Dictionaries, &c. Pamphlets have been published respecting the suttee, pilgrim-tax, Ghaut murders, infanticide, slavery, &c., particularly "India's Cries," by Mr. Peggs, which have aroused public attention to these "abominations that make desolate."

"Words are things; and a small drop of ink
Falling, like dew, upon a thought, produces
That which makes thousands, perhaps millions think."

Never was this idea more strikingly verified than in the history of the immortal Carey,—"the man whom the King delighted to honour." View him in his poor evening school, expanding the little minds of his village pupils, by teaching them geography, and grafting upon the stem of that little plant the fruitful bough of righteousness and true holiness.

In the accomplishment of a great object, much time is necessarily spent in preparatory work. The wise man says, "Prepare thy work without, and make it fit for thyself in the field, and afterwards build thy house." Prov. xxiv. 27. In the review of the past twenty, thirty, or fifty years, how much time

and labour have been spent before the "kings go forth to war," before they could "lift up their voice like a trumpet," and cause the heathen to "know the joyful sound." The view of this work is both retrospective and prospective. This must have passed under the grateful reader's observation in almost every part of missionary history. How different the state of India in 1792 and 1842! How different the state of Orissa in 1822 and 1842! It does not fall within the range of the writer to take the former period or extensive sphere for review, but the latter, both in time and limit. Much preparatory work has been accomplished, bearing upon India generally, and Orissa particularly. Drs. Carey and Buchanan memorialised the Marquis of Wellesley respecting infanticide at Saugur, and the suttee; and the former practice was abolished by that magnanimous governor-general in 1802. It has been often remarked, that had his lordship remained much longer in India, he would have abolished the suttee also. This honour was obtained by the late Lord William Bentinck, the regulation for its abolition bearing date "Fort William, Dec. 4, 1829," and signed by W. Bentinck, Combermere, W. B. Bailey, C. T. Metcalfe. For this philanthropic measure his lordship will be mentioned in terms of high approval by all succeeding generations. He has acquired honours (shared also by those who acted with him) in comparison of which,

"The laurels that a Cæsar reaps are weeds."

Our space forbids particular reference to the establishment of schools and colleges both in English

and the native languages; the repeal of the pilgrim tax at Juggernaut, Gya, and Allahabad, in the Bengal presidency, and in some other parts of India; the improvements introduced by the last India charter, which received the royal assent August 28, 1833, relative to colonisation in India; the improvement of the laws, by their assimilation to European jurisprudence, removing the disabilities of christian natives, relative to the different functions of government; recognising the existence and evil of slavery in India, and directing the preparation of regulations for its melioration and abolition. How far the agents of christian missions have promoted these and many beneficial changes in the countries of their location, needs no arguments to prove. Their own works "praise them in the gates." The spirit of christian missions is silently and powerfully affecting and directing the counsels of the powers that be. And is not this the fulfilment of that which is written?— "The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever." "The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people; it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever." Dan. vii. 18; ii. 44.

Not only have political changes of a beneficial character taken place in India, but those of a literary, social, and moral character are in continual progress. The influence of the schools, the myriads of books and tracts, circulated from the Bay of Bengal to the Himalaya mountains, and from the

Indus, and even the Euphrates, far beyond the Brumahpootra,—the movement of the native mind by the press, (and even their own presses,)—the "no small stir about this way" among the millions of Hindostan,—demonstrate, as it respects the christian church, that "the breaker is come up before them; they have broken up, and have passed through the gate, and are gone out by it; and their King shall pass before them, and their Lord on the head of them." Mic. ii. 13.

The following extract from a Hindoo paper in Calcutta speaks volumes; and, as a native prophecy, is worthy of forming the concluding paragraph of this brief history:—"O most holy men, do not boast any longer of being Hindoos! You think your children will remain faithful to the religion of their fathers, and join your religious bodies to defend Hindooism. Give up such hopes! The missionary gentlemen who have left their own country to come to India, are now in whole bands perambulating every lane and corner, in order to destroy the Hindoo religion; and foolish boys, like greedy fishes, being deceived by the hope of gain, are caught by the hook of their sorceries. What will happen hereafter nobody can tell. Like the sacrificial block at Kalee-ghaut, the blocks of the missionaries are ready day and night, and whenever they find an opportunity, they bring their oblation and kill their victims. We are more afraid of the padres than either cholera, fevers, or snake bites; for these may be healed by charms and medicines, but for the diseases which the padres inflict neither charm nor medicine avail anything. We cannot find great fault with the padres, for it is the glory of their own

religion that they have crossed seven oceans and thirteen rivers, to come into this country, and are now spending immense sums to convert the Hindoos. Our religion, having no means of defending itself, is dying; it is going to its home,—to the house of Jum. The holy men of Dhurmastola will not even once apply the medicine of their endeavours for the restoration of their dying religion. Why quarrel with each other? If the children join the white-faced sages, you will soon have nothing to quarrel about."

NOTICES OF MISSIONARIES CONNECTED WITH THE ORISSA MISSION.*

Missionaries.	Arrived.	Remarks.
Rev. W. Bampton	Feb. 1822 .	Died, Dec. 7, 1830
Mrs. Bampton	do.	Returned, 1831
Rev. J. Peggs	do.	do. Nov. 1825
Mrs. Peggs	do.	do. ——
Rev. C. Lacey	Dec. 1823 .	Furlough, 1835-8
Mrs. Lacey	do.	do.
Rev. A. Sutton	March, 1825	do. 1833-6
Mrs. Sutton	do. .	Died, May, 1825
Rev. J. Cropper	Feb. 1828 .	Died, Dec. 1828
Mrs. E. Sutton .	July, 1826	
Rev. W. Brown	Dec. 1830 .	Left, 1837
Mrs. Brown .	do.	Residing at Balasore

* Those distinguished by an asterisk were sent out from America by the Free-will Baptist Missionary Society, founded through the interest in India awakened by the visit of the Rev. Amos Sutton, in 1833.

Missionaries.	Arrived.	Remarks.
Rev. J. Goadby .	Dec. 1833 .	Returned, 1837
Mrs. Goadby	do. .	Died, 1834
Rev. J. Brooks .	March, 1835	
Mrs. Brooks .	do.	
Mrs. J. Goadby	April, 1835	Returned, 1837
*Rev. Eli Noyes .	March, 1836	
*Mrs. Noyes	do.	
*Rev. J. Phillips	do.	
* Mrs. Phillips	do. .	Died, 1838
Rev. J. Stubbins .	Jan. 1837	
Mrs. Stubbins	do. .	Died, 1837
Mrs. E. Stubbins .	March, 1838	
Rev. H. Wilkinson .	March, 1839	
Mrs. Wilkinson	do.	
Mrs. A. Phillips .	— 1839	Died, 1840
*Rev. O. Bachelor	Sept. 1840	
*Mrs. Bachelor	do.	
*Miss C. Cummings .	do.	
Rev. J. Grant .	Dec. 1841	
Mrs. Grant .	do.	
Mr. W. Brooks, *Printer*	do.	
Mrs. Brooks .	do.	
Miss Derry	do.	

In addition to the above, the Rev. Messrs. Hudson, Brownley, and Allsop, with their wives, sailed for Jamaica in 1826 and 1827. It is with deep regret that the writer adds, Mr. Hudson returned on account of ill health; Mr. Allsop, his brother-in-law, died at Lucea, in September, 1829, and the remaining missionary relinquished his connexion with the Society. In consequence of these painful events, and the very

great expense of the mission, the stations so successfully occupied were tendered to the brethren of the other part of the baptist denomination, who entered into their labours. Happy day when "he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together!"

END OF VOL. II.

Luntley and Dick, Printers, 3, New Broad Street Court.